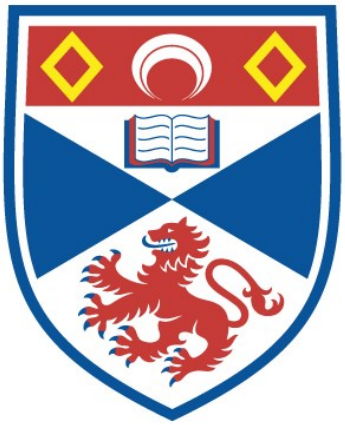
SO SPRACH DAZ WIP : WOMEN IN DIALOGUE WITH LOVER AND COURT IN MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN AND ROMANCE LYRICS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY AND EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

Yvonne A. Mallett

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil
at the
University of St Andrews



1989

Full metadata for this item is available in
St Andrews Research Repository
at:
http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:
http://hdl.handle.net/10023/15222

This item is protected by original copyright

SO SPRACH DAZ WIP:

WOMEN IN DIALOGUE WITH LOVER AND COURT IN MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN AND ROMANCE LYRICS OF THE TWELFTH AND EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

by

Yvonne A. Mallett

Thesis submitted for the degree of M. Phil. (Mode A)
in the University of St Andrews
1988

ProQuest Number: 10170862

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.

ProQuest 10170862

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.
This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

TL
A870

DECLARATIONS:

(i) I, Yvonne A. Mallett, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 60 000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

date. 4th October 1988

(ii) I was admitted as a candidate for the degree of M. Phil. (Mode A) in October 1979; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between the years 1979 and 1988.

date. 4th October 1988

(iii) I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of M. Phil. (Mode A) in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

date. 27 October 1988

(iv) In submitting this thesis to the University of St. Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide liberary or research worker.

date. 4th October 1988

ABSTRACT:

It is the purpose of this thesis to study a representative group of Middle High German poems, complemented in places by relevant Romance examples, in order to examine the image and position of the woman as portrayed through her relationships with her lover and the listening public.

The first chapter looks at the early dialogue-songs which are characterised by the fact that the lovers do not generally communicate directly, but only talk about each other. Their sexual aspirations remain unfulfilled because of social restrictions. The last part of the chapter introduces an answered dialogue which gives new insights into the relationship between the protagonists and the listening public.

The second chapter concentrates primarily on Reinmar's and Walter's dialogue-songs. It establishes that the image of the woman in these poems is determined by the poets' own needs and aims.

The third chapter approaches the question of the variation of the image of the woman through an inquiry into the dawn-song. While following the development of the position of the woman from the potentially tragic to the comic it also illuminates the relationship between the woman and the male figures who appear in this genre.

The final chapter sets against this an inquiry into the position of women in crusading and parting songs. These poems are all prompted by real-life situations. It concludes with a discussion of the way in which the woman's status depends upon her lover, as well as a description of changing attitudes towards the crusading movement.

The most important overall conclusion is that the image of the woman is far more varied than is generally thought and that this diversity depends on the interplay between real-life observation and subsequent poetical relationship.

Acknowledgements

I would like here to take the opportunity to thank my teachers, friends and family who have helped and supported me during the writing of this thesis. My first thanks must naturally go to my parents who first instilled me with an interest in the Middle Ages and who from then on have always encouraged me to pursue it. I am also grateful to my teachers of the French and English Departments of the University of Giessen, West Germany, who helped me to deepen and develop my knowledge. My greatest thanks must, however, go to Dr. Jeffrey Ashcroft of St. Andrews University for his invariably encouraging and inspiring tuition which has contributed much to my enjoyment of the study of Middle High German lyrics. I am particularly grateful for his help with the word-processing and printing of this thesis. I also wish to thank my husband Phillip Mallett, who initially suggested my undertaking of this project, for his scrupulous proof-reading of the typescript and his assistance with problems of the English language. Last but not least I am also indebted to my friends in Crail for their cheerful support.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Although interest in the position and status of aristocratic women has in recent years led to a number of valuable historical articles and full-length studies, the understanding of their representation in contemporary literature still remains an exciting and challenging task for the literary critic [1]. The fascination stems from the recognition of the complexity of many women's lives and achievements. It can be regarded as generally true that women were in principle not considered as equal to men. But when it came to fulfilling the tasks and functions usually performed by men, many showed themselves as efficient and capable. This is nowhere more evident than in those areas where women came to hold the executive power. Initially fiefs were granted as a reward for martial service, and then they always went to men. But as the system slowly evolved to one of inheritance, it also became more common for fiefs to be passed on to daughters if there was no male heir [2].

> "In the Central Middle Ages women could inherit fiefs in northern and southern France, in Hainaut, Flanders, west Lorraine, England, several regions of Italy and the kingdoms of Catalonia, Aragon and Castille."[3]

Furthermore there are several well-documented cases were women not only administered a property but also organised its military defence either in their own right or during the absence of their husbands. As early as 1001 Donna Jimena, the widow of Le Cid, held Valencia against the Muslim army and beat off their repeated attacks [4]. Many similar examples can be cited from the following centuries: Eleanor of Aquitaine defended her properties on several occasions and she was still able to undertake long and arduous political missions well after her seventieth birthday [5]. Similarly the Countess of Brittany, wife to Jean de Montfort, went to battle in 1341 during the absence of her husband [6], and in 1338 Agnes Black defended Dunbar Castle against Edward III [7]. Reflections of the woman's role as champion and administrator of her husband's lands and property are also found in contemporary literature. Particularly well-known examples appear in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* and *Willehalm*; Herzeloyde and Condwiramurs exercise wardship of their lands in their husband's absence and Gyburg defends Orange while Willehalm seeks reinforcement. One might argue that all these examples only came about because of extraordinary circumstances, but the aristocratic woman even in normal times fulfilled many important tasks. A good discussion of these is provided in the second chapter of Margaret Wade Labarge's study of *A*

Baronial Household in the Thirteenth Century [8]. The lady of the house had not only to organise the food supplies for a large court but she was also concerned with the entertainment of numerous guests, as well as with diplomatic missions, the household accounts and the support of her husband in all times of need. The Countess of Leicester shared many of her husband's travels to continental Europe and after his death in battle in 1365 she was solely responsible for salvaging the family's remaining fortunes.

But women not only helped with the administration and organisation of their husbands' property, they also at times had an influence upon political decision making. A charter of Heinrich I of Germany, who was married to Mathilde, the first governess of the newly founded *Stift* of Quedlinburg, begins with the words: "Durch die Fürsprache unserer Gattin bewegt..."[9]; and Adelheid, wife of Otto I of Germany, appears in several documents as "Consors Regni" [10].

But although women could and did exercise power they were never regarded as legally equal to men. Throughout most of their lives they remained under the legal guardianship of the male members of their family. This is especially evident in German criminal law, where women were not only unable to bring a case before a court of law, but in many areas their evidence was not regarded as equal to that of a man:

> "Dem geringen Gewicht, daß man den Aussagen einer Frau beimaß, entsprach die Festlegung mancher Weistümer, daß die gleichlautenden Zeugnisse von zwei oder drei Frauen den Aussagen eines Mannes entsprechen sollten." [11]

The understanding that women were legally subordinate to their husbands also influenced the question of their criminal responsibility:

> "According to the English jurist Bracton, a woman was obliged to obey her husband in everything, as long as he did not order her to do something in violation of Divine Law. He even relates a case in which a wife and husband forged a royal writ. The crime was discovered and the husband hanged. The wife was acquitted, and the jurist explained that since she had been under her husband's rule (*sub virga sui*) she had no choice but to collaborate with him." [12]

. A final historical point which is important but for which there is little concrete evidence ought to be added here. The public life of aristocratic women was not only marked by their political and legal position but also by

their influence upon the cultural and literary life of a court. The most influential female patrons of the twelfth century were without any doubt Eleanor of Aquitaine and her daughters Marie de Champagne and Mathilde of Saxony [13]. Besides this very powerful family there were also many other women at greater and smaller courts who fostered the production of literature. Amongst these were in Germany Barbarossa's second wife, the Empress Beatrice, who was again a French princess, and Margarete of Cleve [14]. But although Minnesang is generally seen as a male-orientated art-form, a view which needs reconsidering, there is no reason to doubt that women are also likely to have promoted the performance of courtly lyric and that they themselves were also eager recipients of it.

Recent historical studies have done much to clarify the position of women in medieval society, but critical interpretation of the contemporary lyric has been less willing to recognise a similar complexity in the position of the courtly *frouwe*. As Gerhard Hahn writes in a representative account, her image is supposed to correspond to a stereotype:

> "Was über die Minnepartnerin gesagt ist, ist in anderen Minneliedern nicht nur desselben Autors, sondern von zehn, zwanzig, dreißig andern Dichtern über Jahrzehnte, über zwei Jahrhunderte, bis der Minnesang ausklingt, nicht selten mit denselben Worten, häufiger mit variiertem Ausdruck über andere Minnepartnerinnen gesagt." [15]

But since Rüdiger Schnell's discussion of the theories of courtly love and Joachim Bumke's reappraisal of the woman's position within courtly culture this position is no longer tenable [16]. The need for a new approach has also been underlined by the recent differentiation of the functions of courtly love according to the needs of individual genres. But all these proposals can so far only be regarded as pointers towards a new direction. What is still missing is a systematic description and analysis of the many possible variations of the image of the woman within a representative group of poems. Especially after GÜnther Schweikle's recognition that literary criticism has for too long amalgamated literary and historical evidence, such an undertaking must be based on the the texts themselves [17]. They are the literary critic's first and main source of information. It is the purpose of this thesis to attempt just this task. With the exception of a few special cases all the poems discussed are songs in which the depiction of the woman is achieved through a dialogue with her lover. This enactment of the relationship not only gives the listeners an opportunity

to become more closely acquainted with the figure of the woman, but it also creates for the *frouwe* the opportunity to actively influence the development of the relationship. The analysis of the representation of the woman within a dialogue might then open new paths towards the recognition of the variations of the image of the *frouwe* within the whole of courtly literature. This diversity in the images of women can be observed within a single relationship and within a group of comparable situations.

The first two chapters therefore look at dialogues in which the lovers or at least one of them hope and strive for the erotic fulfilment of the relationship. In these songs the woman is often put into a situation which resembles that of the Minnelied. She is courted by a man, but her relationship to this suitor is marked by that social prohibition which forbids its sexual fulfilment [18]. Although these poems all start off from the same basic situation, this thesis strives to show that they differ greatly in their depiction of the woman and her relationship to the lover. The last two chapters, both concerned with poems of parting, also try to demonstrate the variation and development of the figure of the woman. The chapter on the dawn-song explores the topic within the confines of a literary genre which in its representation of sexual fulfilment offers the antithesis of the preceding dialogue situations. The final chapter focuses again on the situation of the woman at the moment of a parting, but this time the separation is brought about by the real-life situation of a man's enlistment in the crusading army or through his death. While documenting the many individual variations in the representation of the woman within a love-relationship, each chapter also tries as far as the material allows to show the development of the poets' skill in the handling of the female protagonist [19].

Such a close reading of the texts also arrives at the question of the acceptance and interpretation of the concept of courtly love. This is an old and much discussed problem which so far has not found a generally accepted explication, and no radical solution can be proposed here. However, only a few basic assumptions have been adopted for the discussion of individual poems and where they appear, they are those which the text seems to propose or those which are thought to be closely connected with the function of Minnesang as a social phenomenon. The conflict between *juvenes* and *seniores* as described by Georges Duby is here of particular relevance for the interpretation of the function and status of the woman in this society [20]. The discussion of the variations of the image of the

woman is therefore limited to a courtly context. This guarantees a certain uniformity which might eventually also lead to new insights into the interpretation of the image of the woman in the subjectve lyrical genres as well as a reappraisal of the woman in narrative works.

The interpretation of the relationship of lovers in the poem allows a tentative exploration of the understanding of their relationship with the audience. This is an area about which there exists almost no information and the proposed interpretations must be regarded as largely speculative. The point of departure for these thoughts is, however, the accepted view that aristocratic societies of all ages liked to play games and that they often were the only social group who had the time and education to perfect this inclination. Joachim Bumke has made evident the connection between games and literature in the Romance and German cultures [21]. Combined with this interest in all kinds of games appears to be a keen interest in the problems of love and especially its erotic fulfilment. This curiosity about the relationships between lovers is not only obvious in the lyric poetry, but it also lies at the centre of the Arthurian Romances. One can only speculate what the exact function of these games was. The most one can say is that they probably created a certain amount of psychological space within which the individual could imaginatively resolve some of the erotic tensions of courtly society. As Minnesang was also designed to be sung in front of a group this shared experience could have led to a strengthening of the group-identity and thereby have underpinned the self-awareness of this courtly society.

Although because of spatial and thematic restrictions this thesis can only look at a small selection of lyrical works, it nevertheless sets out to show the large range of variation within the representation of the woman. The female protagonists of each of the relationships despite their role-play keep a distinctly individual character. It is hoped that these new insights into the description of the woman and her relationships will strengthen the recent re-examination of her position in courtly literature and thereby lead to a recognition of the fascinating complexities of this figure.

CHAPTER ONE

THE EARLY DIALOGUE SONG

The aim of this chapter is to analyse and describe the role of women in the courtly dialogue. First and foremost this means shedding light on those dialogue poems which deal with the loving couple's desire for personal sexual fulfilment within a normative society, but which do not bind these conversations to the kind of specific narrative context provided for example in the dawn song. The simplest prototype of such a dialogue, and they are most often encountered in the early Minnesang, is the two-stanza Wechsel [1]. In it the lovers generally do not converse with each other, but talk about each other. Their consequently parallel statements about their relationship are instead addressed to a listening aristocratic public which here assumes the double function of being simultaneously the recipient of a particular art form and the normative social group for the lovers [2].

Although the contemporary Romance literature has produced a variety of dialogue poems, none of these correspond in their content or setting to this specific confrontation between the lovers and their society.

Within the known corpus of parallel two-stanza Wechsel it is naturally possible to observe a range of thematic variations which stretch from Heinrich von Veldeke's general delineation of the condition of a courtly love-relationship as set out in *Der blideschlaft sunder riuwe hat* (MF 60, 13-60, 28), to the account of an existing but now threatened relationship [3]. A particularly clear example of the latter is transmitted under the authorship of the Burggraf von Regensburg. His Wechsel *Ich lac den winter eine* (MF16, 15-17, 06) is made up of two four-line stanzas, the first of which is a man's lament over the threatened loss of his love-relationship. In an amusing reversal of the relationship between the seasons and the expected possibilities for the creation of a sexual relationship the man complains that the arrival of the new spring does not, now, hold out for him the promise of the fulfilment of his sexual aspirations. This is, as in many of these poems, due to the vigilance and interdiction of society, which here appears as simply the *merkaere*. Their sexual jealousy keeps him separated from his *frouwe*, of whose love he has nevertheless not entirely given up hope.

The woman's answer which follows in the MS as a single stanza but which MF interprets as a corresponding unit, concentrates on the same two ideas, that is to say on the social opposition to her desire for physical closeness with her partner and her recollection of the past fulfilment of her desires [4]. Her final statement then echoes the man's pain at their

parting. The structural parallelism of the two stanzas as well as the basic correspondence of the lovers' accounts of their relationship leads the public to perceive them as roughly equal. In practice, this means that the representation of the two protagonists in this poem is not varied enough to create the awareness of two really distinct roles.

Simliar examples of this kind of dialogue, some of which admittedly present the critic with problems in respect of their attribution to a named poet and of their textual coherence, can be found during the period of the early Minnesang in the works of:

1. Der Burggraf von Rietenburg : *Nu endarf mir nieman wizen* (MF 18, 1-18, 16)
2. Dietmar von Eist [5] : 1. *Der winter waere mir ein zit* (according to Mss B, C : MF 35, 16-35, 31)
   : 2. *Diu welt noch ir alten site* (MF 36, 5-36, 22) [6]
3. Heinrich von Veldeke : *Swenne diu zit also gestat* (MF67, 9-67, 24)

A further special example of this type of poem can perhaps be seen in the constructed Wechsel of Der von Kürenberg: *Vil lieben friunt «verkiesen» , daz ist schedelich* (MF 7, 1-7, 18) [7]. Although the simple two-stanza Wechsel is most frequently encountered in the early Minnesang, it is by no means limited to this stage. Instead it resurfaces in the classic period of the Middle High German courtly lyrics around the turn of the twelfth century, notably in the works of Albrecht von Johansdorf:

1. *Da gehoeret manic stunde zuo* (MF 90, 8-90, 21)
2. *Wie sich Minne hebt, daz weiz ich wol* (MF 91, 22-92, 6)

But simultaneously with the flourishing of the parallel Wechsel, it is also possible to discern the beginnings of a differentiation between the roles of the man and the woman. Within this development there are again two distinct strands: either the poems strive towards a direct confrontation between the lovers, or they evoke a the difference in character of the protagonists through a demonstration of their diverging perceptions and sensitivity.

This deepening of the exploration of characters lead in all cases to a physical extension of the poems into multi-stanza works. The addition of one or more stanzas has the advantage of giving the poet room to exploit

further the tensions between the lovers' private claims and society's influence upon them. The increasing refinement of his technique also enables the poet to stimulate his aristocratic public with a much appreciated intellectual game. Its main attraction for the audience comes from the desire to anticipate the outcome of the song's argument. But in order to keep this interest alive and to offer the pleasure of novelty the poet has to outdo these expectations [8].

A fairly simple example of the differentiation between the partners through their diverging characters, which at the same time hints at the possibility of a personal confrontation, occurs in Dietmar von Eist's poem *Was ist vür daz truren guot* (MF 32, 1-32, 12). As a variation upon the basic model the poem adds little. It only interpolates a third stanza between the protagonists' respective declarations of love in which the man and his *frouwe* briefly come together. Their meeting, here insignificant in so far as it does not contribute to a change in the basic situation, is important as an pointer towards a slowly developing dramatisation of the love-relationship. As the audience would have expected, the confrontation does not bring the lovers fulfilment. Instead it actually turns into a parting, a device which the poet uses here in order to keep intact the sexual longing which is the driving force of all courtly relationships .

Although the poem keeps thematically very close to the basic pattern of the two-stanza Wechsel, it also presents the audience and the critic with differing pictures of the protagonists' reaction to the situation and therefore also of their adopted roles.

The woman takes up a largely pragmatic position, as is apparent in her practical approach to her desires. In the final lines of her stanza she states unequivocally that her frustrations are caused by the vigilance of the *huote*, and that she for her part would be prepared to fulfil her intense sexual desires if the occasion were to present itself [9]. This uncomplicated frankness stands in marked contrast to the man's unfulfilled longing for his *vrouwen schoene* (MF 32, 10). His sufferings are felt so intensely that he believes himself close to death. The difference in the characterisation is stressed in the last line by the fact that the man blames God's divine power and not, like the lady, the inherent restrictions of society for his emotional pains. The divergence in their assessment of their situations corresponds to the stylised roles taken up by the lovers. The man appears as the totally absorbed courtly suitor, a portrait which is not echoed by a corresponding description of the woman as a distant *frouwe*.

Indeed in her practical handling of everyday life she appears as his virtual opposite.

A deepening interest in the figure of the woman as an individual human being can be observed in two further poems, both attributed to Dietmar von Eist :

1. *Seneder vriundinne bote* (MF 32, 13-33, 14)
2. *Sich hat verwandelt diu zit* (MF 37, 30-38, 28) [10]

Both songs, apart from elaborating upon the basic Wechsel model through the addition of further stanzas, confront the audience with a new but logical variation of the dialogue between the lovers. They both introduce a messenger who appears as the man's representative; *Seneder vriundinne bote* (MF 32, 13-33, 14) in fact opens with a message sent by the man. But the excitement of the variation turns out to be confined solely to the change of speakers and not to the content of the message. In it the man only repeats the already familiar and stylised submission of the longing suitor.

The real variation in form and subject is created in the woman's answer. First of all, her stanza is not conceived as an independent parallel to the man's but as a real answer, and it thereby represents a development of the possibilities already hinted at in the second stanza of *Waz ist vůr daz truren guot* (MF 32, 1-32, 12). The second and in this case the more important change concerns the woman's conception of her position within society. Accordingly, the thrust of the argument is mainly directed towards courtly joy through a generally cheerful and positive outlook:

> und bite in, schone wesen gemeit und lazen allez ungemuete. (MF 33, 1).

With this exhortation to true sociability before private introspection the woman confirms her adherence to the role of courtly lady. She demands both social perfection as well as personal dedication from her lover. But as such - and this in opposition to at least some later examples of the courtly *frouwe* - she does not reject the man, but speaks of her intense longing for him.

The third stanza is not explicitly allocated to a particular speaker. Its content suggests that it can be understood either as a continuation of the woman's speech or as a comment by the poet [11]. It has to be assumed that both possibilities were borne out or implied through differing performances of the work, as the occasion seemed to demand. As this thesis is, however, particularly interested in the role of the woman it seems

appropriate here to concentrate on a more detailed discussion of the former of the two interpretations.

The final stanza expands upon the idea of the lovers' proper role within society, a theme which links directly with the maxim of line two of the previous stanza. The woman describes her relationship with society as a precariously balanced movement of giving and taking which pushes her into a paradoxical situation where she is to inspire passion and love without being able to fulfil it. Her problems are increased - and this is the main reason why *Ez getet nie wip so wol an deheiner slahte dinge, / daz al diu welte diuhte guot* (MF 33,7-33,8) - by the fact that she is nevertheless expected to make a personal loving commitment to her suitor which is marked by the very strictly observed virtue of *staete*. The solution to this impossible problem, and it is admittedly a very partial solution, lies in this poem in the suggestion that the woman's commitment to a particular relationship is not created by selfishness but is part of her social virtue. In its recognition and representation of the complexities which define the position of the lovers in their society, this poem surpasses the previously discussed Wechsel. At the same time the song also describes the role of the woman more accurately. The most noteworthy observation here is that the woman, firstly in stanza two and then possibly more explicitly in stanza three, lays open the problems of the lovers' right and proper behaviour in their society. With it she not only shows herself superior in her awareness, but she also strengthens her own position as an exemplary courtly lady. She achieves the latter mainly through her attempt to integrate the lovers' personal desires into the wider system of courtly virtue.

The central virtue of *staete* is a quality which is not only praised by the courtly lady but is also one on which she depends. This becomes prominent in the four stanza poem: *Sich hat verwandelt diu zit* (MF 37,30-38,3). A complete understanding of this poem, which has only one woman's stanza, is hindered by two interdependent problems. The first concerns the congruity of the argument, while the second relates more specifically to the evaluation of the lovers' relationship.

The main difficulty in the interpretation of this song arises from the fact that the connections between the individual stanzas are as in many poems of the early Minnesang made through the association of ideas rather than through a linear build-up between events. The problem, which is acute

as regards particularly the connection of stanza two and the following stanzas is exacerbated by a terminological question.

The first two stanzas of the poem seem to basically match each other. They both adopt the style and content of the traditional Minnepreis. The man, for his part, expands on his long standing devotion which persists beyond the end of summer, the customary time for love. His declaration of continued *staete* is immediately followed by a matching avowal from the woman: *ich will iemer staete sin* (MF 38,9). This statement of a sure commitment in the woman's stanza is the culminating point of a long stream of praise for a happy relationship. To name only a couple of examples: she calls her lover *der aller beste man* (MF 38,6). In his company she feels consoled and entirely safe : *er tuot mir grozer sorgen rat* (MF 38,7). The eulogy of satisfied love and the expression of a faithful commitment mingle in the last line of her stanza in the revelation that *er kan wol grozer arbeit gelonen nach dem willen min.* (MF 38,13). The terms *lon, gelonen* when used by a man usually refer very specifically to the sexual fulfilment of a love-relationship. It seems plausible therefore that a similar statement by a woman should produce the same associations. If this were so, the stanza would move from a general declaration of happiness at an explanation of justified trust to the suggestion of the possible sexual fulfilment of the relationship. But if the relationship has arrived at the point where either sexual fulfilment has been granted or where at least it is held out to be given, then the content of the following two stanzas produces certain logical incongruities.

The doubt centres around the man's expression of discontent over the long drawn-out period of waiting. The point is emphasised by the division of the man's statement into two thematically repetitive stanzas. The first is spoken by the messenger who appears as his master's representative. His stanza begins with a reference to the man's emotional and erotic suffering. From the description which in itself is an accusation the messenger proceeds in his last line to a direct demand which simultaneously can be interpreted as a threat:

> *nù reden wirz an ein ende enzit, e im sin vröide gar zerge.*
> (MF 38,22)

The theme returns without establishing any particular reference to the previous stanza in the man's final appearance. The first lines of devoted love, evoking memories of the first stanza, are followed by a further reminder of his increasing impatience. The complaint is sharpened by the

direct mention of the man's possible alternatives:

mich dunkent ander frouwen guot
ich gewinne von ir dekeiner niemer hohen muot
sin welle genade enzit began (MF 38, 25-38, 27).

This explicit dwelling on the man's frustrations, which contains only veiled threats, does not seem to fit in easily with the woman's confident *gelonen nach dem willen min* (MF 38, 13).

Although there are some uncertainties in the poem as to the logical development of the relationship, it neverthelessyields some important observations about the lovers' differing roles, especially if seen in conjunction with the previous one.

There is no doubt that the man has the greater range of practical possibilities. He is not only able to choose his partner but he can also send a messenger, a possibility which none of the early poets envisage for a woman. But although the man has the initiative within the relationship itself, the range of his actions proves to be very limited. Effectively, he or his messenger can only express one of two extremes. Either he can speak of his undying devotion, in which case his professions of love are often coupled with despair that he has not won his sexual reward, or he can threaten the lady with his eventual departure.

In the case of the woman a frequently conflicting second invariable is added to this first determinant. Unlike the man she not only seeks sexual love, which by the social *mores* of her community she is also forbidden to realise, but beyond this she has the added special resonsibility of being the guardian and instigator of proper social behaviour. This is a fact which is particularly important in the second and third stanzas of *Seneder vriundinne bote* (MF 32, 13-33, 14). The lady can, of course, only achieve this socialising influence if she is able to retain the man in her love-service. The argument becomes circular with the man's threat that he will leave unless he is paid his sexual reward. Such a fulfilment of his desires would, however, not only be objected to by *diu huote* but it would make the lady undesirable for the man himself, a point which becomes the centrepiece of the argument in *Wart ane wandel ie kein wip* (MF 40, 19-41, 6) [8]. But before turning to this complicated and very innovative dialogue it seems preferable to supplement this examination of the tensions between the lovers' own desires and the restrictions imposed upon them by society with two further and rather more basic songs. Kaiser Heinrich's *Wol hoher danne riche* (MF 4, 17-4, 34) and Friedrich von Hausen's *Do ich von der guoten*

schiet (MF 48,32-49,12) both deepen the insight into the lovers' differing roles through their perception and sensitivity in respect of *diu huote*.

Both poems are parallel two-stanza Wechsel which introduce their respective topics through the figure of the man. Particularly in Kaiser Heinrich's poem the characterisation of the man represents a special case in so far as the poem suggests or at least allows an association between the literary *persona* and the real life position of the poet. Since Kaiser Heinrich's poetry is believed to have been created before 1190, that is, during his father's life-time while he himself was still known as the young *rex teutonicus*, and the opening lines of his poem play on the comparison between the power given to him by his high social rank and the supreme happiness love can give him [12]. Its felicities are greater than the satisfactions of wordly power. Although the woman's acceptance of him as her suitor is the direct source of his joy, within the stanza he uses this feeling of contentment as a means to express his own confidence. And it is very specifically the exuberance of a gallant lover who knows that he cannot be rejected because of his high social status. The man's delight in his happy situation seems to lead him to concentrate all his energies upon the woman while at the same time becoming inattentive towards the court.

In comparison with the following woman's stanza, in which the lady shows herself fully aware of the lovers' social context, this representation seems despite its charm rather restricted. The second stanza matches the man's passion and commitment but goes beyond it in its account of other women's envy:

daz nident ander vrouwen
und habent des haz. (MF 4,28-4,29)

This represents a tangible danger for the lady because in their sexual envy the other women are not only spreading malicious gossip they are actually pressing her to reveal her lover's identity : *und sprechent mir ze leide, daz si in wellen schouwen.* (MF 4,30). But if she were to yield to these pressures she would simultaneously commit two grave, but here of course entirely theoretical faults: the first relates to the demand of discretion and secrecy in a courtly love-relationship and the second addresses itself to the practical consequences of the demanded revelation. She would expose her partner to verbal or even physical attacks from *diu huote*. But the woman has in her awareness of the social code noticed and analysed the danger so as not to fall into the trap set. Her last line is therefore a

confident reaffirmation of her unfailing commitment to her chosen lover, in the face of which the threats of *ander vrouwen* become irrelevant.

Friedrich von Hausen's song (MF 48,32-49,12) does not in the first instance suggest any obvious connection between the man's social status and his position within the love-relationship. But it is nevertheless possible to detect substantial similarities in the characterisation of the two protagonists. The Wechsel is again introduced by the man but this time its topic is not happiness, but suffering and intense frustration. The audience learns that the initially happy or at least promising love-relationship has now arrived at breaking point under the strain of the *nidere's* gossip [13]. Frustrated by the loss of his lady's presence and enraged by society's ill-will the man is left with nothing but the possibility of forcefully cursing his persecutors. The lack of subtlety of this response corresponds very closely to that of Kaiser Heinrich's male protagonist. Neither enters into a detailed analytical argument with the rules of their society. Whether or not Hausen's own acquired high social ranking has produced this summary, almost dismissive treatment of the surrounding community can, of course, not be ascertained, but it might at least be considered as a contributing factor [14].

The damnation of his ill-wishers which is the climax of the man's stanza also serves as an introduction to the woman's stanza. In it the woman demonstrates that she, like her counterpart in Kaiser Heinrich's poem, is not only willing to stand up against the *merkaere* but that she is also intellectually able to deal with them. She has long understood that their objections to her love-relationship are hypocritical as their protests do not, as they pretend, arise from a genuine concern for her well-being but are instead created by sexual envy:

> *Si waenent <u>hüeten</u> min*
> *diu si doch nicht bestat*
> *und tuon in <u>niden</u> schin;* (MF 49,4-49,6) [15].

The importance of the two key-terms of the argument, *hüeten* and *niden*, is poetically underlined through their positions directly in front of the rhyme-word.

The extravagant style of the poem, is already apparent in the man's stanza, acquires a structural function in the second half of the woman's stanza. The metaphor of the impossible reversal of the river *Rin* establishes through its forcefulness an instantaneous relationship with the man's equally powerful curse. But secondly and more importantly this

stylistic parallelism also leads on to a comparison between the partners' differing handling of the situation. Unlike her male partner the woman has made the effort to go beyond the simple opposition of the *merkaere's* objection. She has analysed the false logic of their arguments and this has also enabled her to refute them. As with the woman in Kaiser Heinrich's poem, this clarity of mind has simultaneously induced her to reaffirm her steadfast her commitment to her lover.

It is interesting for the assessment of the woman's superior impact that she formulates this commitment as a challenge to the *merkaere*. Her argument is cleverly based on the central principle of courtly love, that of service and reward. It is her duty if she does not want to expose herself to the reproach of being an ungrateful *frouwe* to reward the lover *der mir gedienet hat* (MF 49, 12) [16]. This final and sophisticated move against the *merkaere* completes the picture of the woman's superior ability to deal with the situation. She does not simply rage but step by step undertakes to disarm the *merkaere* and finally plays with their principles. This subtlety of the woman's perception and response in opposition to the man's reaction is also the most important link between this poem and Kaiser Heinrich's song. Both show their female protagonists in a position where they understand and refute the claims of their envious society.

The woman's ability to hold her own against the claims of society as well as against the insinuations of a witty lover becomes the defining characteristic of Dietmar von Eist's song *Wart ane wandel ie kein wip* (MF 40, 19-41, 6) [17]. Formally this three-stanza poem differs from all dialogues discussed above in so far as it is the first transmitted example of a Wechsel which pitches the protagonists directly against each other. The heightened dramatisation of their meeting seems simultaneously to have inspired the poet with new ideas for their differentiation. As will be argued below, the most important innovation derives from the use of erotic humour as a means to determine the lovers' positions towards each other. At the same time as re-examining their mutual relationship this altered approach also sheds new light on the nature of their involvement with the court.

The first two stanzas of this poem are spoken by the man, while the woman's answer is compacted into the space of a last single stanza. The general introduction to the theme which the man gives in his first speech is however of little interest here, because it only repeats the already

familiar convention of the *Frauenlob*. The poet's true inventiveness is revealed itself only in the following pair of stanzas.

The second stanza opens with a question by the man in which he continues the theme of his introduction, that of his love for his lady. But the understanding and description of the relationship are now presented from a different angle. In contrast to the preceding exposition in which the man had dedicated his whole self to the service of a perfect lady, this second stanza asks what use such a high-flown ambition can have. From the general question about the exaggerations made in declarations of love the argument turns to a specific and savage attack on the lady. The lover explains that the emotional and sexual enslavement of the man would not only be a humanly unrealistic demand but in his case also an unjustified one: a statement which is underlined with the description of his lady as the very opposite of a courtly *frouwe*. The centre of his attack rests upon the suggestion that his beloved's virtue *ist so vaste niht behuot* (MF 40, 30). This somewhat coarse disclosure insinuates that the lover knows the lady intimately and that he regards her as sexually easily accessible. The thrust of these two middle lines (MF 40, 30-40, 31) is not completely clear. It remains a question whether the lover doubts the effectiveness of the *huote* or whether he addresses himself to the more general question of the advantage of a well-guarded virtue. But the last line of this stanza is directly and unmistakably spoken to the lady. She is asked to confirm *ob si toerschen ie bi mir gelac.* (MF 40, 39). The key-term is here obviously *toerschen*. It is a word which in this case not only suggests a certain degree of immaturity and foolishness but also implies that the woman does not share the strict code of sexual morality which is the very essence of courtly behaviour. This disqualifies her doubly, first of all as an exclusive object precious enough for a man to desire, and secondly as an example of civilising virtue. She is no longer credible as the social influence who *benimet* [the knight] *mange wilde tat.* (MF 39, 3)

The final stanza, which gives the woman's answer, repeats the style of the preceding one while also creating a final moment of comic surprise by means of a sexual indiscretion. The humour of the woman's concluding repartee is greatly heightened by her witty re-use of the man's phrase.

The argument presented in the first seven lines of the stanza contains nothing astonishing. The lady simply asks why the man attacks her, as she has never done any harm. She can only interpret his accusations as malice, which leaves her no other option than to withdraw her *hulde*. In the

context of the offence discussed in this poem, this is no more than the woman is entitled to, and it comes in complete accordance with the listners'/readers' expectations. But it is important to realise that within the codex of surviving songs by the early poets this is the only Wechsel in which the relationship is broken off by the woman.

After having condemned and punished the injustice of the attack the woman then concentrates more specifically upon the accusation of sexual promiscuity. She consolidates her case by first of all establishing that in her answer she is not blinded by a desire for unqualified revenge: *Mir wirret niht sin boeser kip.*. Having cleared the ground she then retaliates with her own *slac*. Instead of denying the man's accusation of a time of intimacy, she sets about doubly disqualifying his insinuations about the specific nature of this occasion. It is not she who has been with him but he who has lain with her. But secondly and more importantly she suggests that this opportunity of physical closeness was not followed by sexual fulfilment: *jo enwart ich nie sin wip.* (MF 41,6). The reasons for the failure of the fulfilment are left open; it remains a matter of speculation whether the woman declares herself to be so responsible that even when they lay together she looked after her virtue effectively, or whether she implicitly accuses the lover of impotence [18].

The poem, quite unlike all the examples of a dialogue discussed previously, defines the characters of the two protagonists through a direct battle of wits which focuses on the question of their respective sexual desirability as courtly lovers. But although the poet chooses an ethical question as the topic of his song, the work is not basically intended as an intellectual discussion. Indeed its peculiarity consists in the fact that the poem only considers one very specific point within the system of courtly love while remaining ambiguous about at least one related area of behaviour. In the course of their argument about their partners' sexual desirability neither protagonist seems to be disturbed at admitting to a time of physical closeness or even sexual intimacy [19]. The doubts about the protagonists' adherence to proper courtly politeness which might arise from their revelations are then further heightened by the fact that they both employ their intimate knowledge as a means to disqualify the other's credentials as a member of this society.

The central problem of the argument between the man and his partner is introduced in the second stanza with the man's suggestion that his *frouwe* is rather more easily accessible than befits a courtly lady. This

indiscreet disclosure culminates in the direct question: *si sol gedenken, ob si toerschen ie bi mir gelac* (MF 40,34). The interpretation of his speech and in particular the full appreciation of this insinuation hinges on a complete understanding of the three possible meanings of the adverb *toerschen*:

1. a serious but basically innocent misjudgment of the allowable which likens the lady to an *unwise* child; *toerschen* here is equivalent to "unverständig" [20].
2. a deliberate and also foolish act of defiance against the rules of society which puts the lady's whole reputation at risk; *toerschen* here is equivalent to "mutwillig" [21].
3. the general idea of foolishness or foolish behaviour concentrated on the woman's inability to make the right and proper sexual judgement; in this context the form taken by foolish sexual behaviour is promiscuity [22].

In the case of the code of courtly love the linguistic link between imprudence and sexual promiscuity carries a particularly heavy weight. This is chiefly because within this code sexuality cannot exist in its own right but is always linked to social improvement [23]. The woman, at least in theory, takes the man into a kind of service in which he has to win her favours by behaving himself in a way which is socially as well as personally pleasing to the lady. As a final but always deferred reward for this complicated and graded service the lady holds out her sexual surrender. So if the lady can be shown to be promiscuous then she has no valid role to play in this scheme. The impropriety of her conduct will entail the social penalty of being shunned by the other members of the social group.

If the man attempts with his stanza to compromise the lady's position as a courtly *frouwe* then in her following stanza he is paid off in the same coin. The essential tension of a courtly love-relationship comes from the distance between sexual desire and its non-fulfilment. The man's suggestion that his lady is too readily accessible is therefore countered with the equivalent claim that he might be unable to achieve this fulfilment. Impotence might not lessen his own desires, but it renders him undesirable to the other women at court [24]. The process of thought behind that disqualification matches the accusations against the woman in so far as it also encompasses the general reaction of the court. In the system of courtly love the sexual relationship not only has a social

function but it is also the expression of the physical and emotional attraction of two people. The public suggestion of impotence reduces the man's desirability as a sexual partner and thereby pushes him to the periphery of the circle of eligible lovers.

My study of the representation of women has so far concentrated exclusively on their relationships with their lovers. Their position vis-à-vis the courtly society which is simultaneously also the audience has only been touched upon indirectly through the discussion of those restraints which the society places upon the lovers by means of the ethical code of courtly love. Dietmar von Eist's Wechsel expands the possibilities of an involvement between the listeners and the protagonists through the introduction of erotic humour. In the second and third stanzas the public is drawn into the protagonists' concerns through the culminating questions of the stanzas. The relationship shifts from that of an audience which needs to be entertained to that of a jury. The main element in the relationship between the protagonists themselves as well as in that which they have with their public is surprise. In both cases the poet creates a particular expectation which he then subsequently surpasses.

The first stanza contains no comic elements but serves as a point of departure for a game with the genre of the *Frauenlob*. The second stanza, sets out to redefine and eventually reverse the expectations built up in the first stanza. Love for the *frouwe* is not expressed as distant adoration and undivided sexual longing. Instead the adverb *toerschen* insinuates that the man regards the woman's willingness to share his sexual love as a foolish misjudgement on her part. Formally the stanza turns from *Frauenlob* into *Frauentadel*.

But it is eventually not the intellectual game with the form which is at the foreground of the audience's enjoyment of the argument. What the public loves is in the first instance created by far simpler emotions. There is on the one hand a self-congratulatory indulgence in its own cleverness which enables it to unravel all the intricate meanings of the term *toerschen*, and on the other hand a delight in the downfall of the woman. Additionally, of course, the audience is eager to see how far the poet will go in what is for the German courtly dialogue poem an unusual frankness about the lovers' sexual closeness [25]. Although all these reponses add to the general enjoyment of the song, the laughter and through it the involvement of the public is solely produced by the poet's skilful exploitation of the sexual meanings of *toerschen*.

The mechanism of the comic is here akin to what Sigmund Freud describes as "obscene wit", in so far as the German courtly dialogue poem as well as its related forms operate according to a rigid code of polite language which leaves no room for the intimate and candid description of sexuality [26]. This particular form of wit involves three parties: the two protagonists of the joke between whom sexual desire is transformed into sexual hostility and a "third person in whom the purpose of wit to produce pleasure is fulfilled" [27]. In Dietmar's poem the knight expresses his aggression by exhibiting the lady's easy sexual accessibility. By exposing her in this way the knight draws the public into the poem because the audience takes up the role of the "third person", whose relationship to the teller of the story is characterised by the fact that they both share the same inhibitions. They have agreed on repressing any mention of the fulfilment of the sexual act within this particular context. This is on the other hand specially poignant in the case of the courtly poem because initially its strongest creative force is individual sexual desire. Against it stands the community's demand for mutuality and subordination which is impressed upon the individual by the creation of a strong psychological prohibition that can only be broken against great inner resistance. The erotic pun uses these anxieties in order to create laughter. The listener is made aware of and takes pleasure in the fact that his "inhibition has now suddenly become superfluous and neutralised because a forbidden idea came into existence by way of auditory perception, and is therefore, ready to be discharged through laughter" [28].

This is exactly what happens in Dietmar's poem, except that the humour brings with it an immediate and very specific social reaction. In this context it is useful to repeat that both the man and the woman have broken through the sexual restrictions of the courtly society by sharing the act of *bi ligen*. But the reaction of this society towards the two protagonists differs considerably, a distinction which is brought about through the force of laughter. The man who tells the joke includes himself in the communal laughter by the act of telling it. The same does not apply for the woman. For her the energy discharged through the laughter equals the distance put between her and this community. The sexual offence is punishable by the social disgrace of the culprit. This has two consequences: first of all the community restores its own order by reasserting its prohibitions, and secondly it exposes the woman's loss of sexual as well as social dignity. She is not only the object of a joke but

through it she is reduced to the position of a sexually easily available girl.

The final stanza creates new pleasures but no new forms of humour. The listeners' main interest in this reply follows naturally from the man's allegations against his *frouwe*. Her answer doubly reassures the audience of her essential quality as a courtly lady. First of all she refutes the man's accusations as malicious and inexplicable lies. This device returns the listener into an emotionally familiar environment, which because of the contrast with the previous stanza, is greeted with relief. Beyond the simple return to familiar thinking, this rather unexciting introduction to the woman's defence also serves the function of preparing the ground for the final twist in this dispute, as the woman reasserts her moral superiority over the man in the last two lines by matching his accusations with an equally strong sexual pun.

The humour of this reply functions in the same way as the insinuations made by the man in so far as it combines release from sexual tension with reassertion of the social sanctions. The man is pushed to the periphery of this community because of his sexual, though not his moral inadequacies. Artistically this ending possibly even surpasses the enjoyment generated by the second stanza because of the novelty of hearing a sexually aggressive pun from a courtly lady. The sympathies of the delighted audience swing around and this final climax appears as a triumph for the woman and the poet alike.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LATER DIALOGUE SONG

Despite Dietmar von Eist's mastery of the Wechsel he had for various reasons no immediate successor [1]; indeed it must have seemed for a time as if all interest in this form of dialogue-poem had been extinguished. Fortunately this proved not to be so, as both Reinmar and Walther von der Vogelweide drew new inspiration from the possibilities of a dialogue between two lovers. By the time these two classic poets came to occupy themselves with this kind of description of a courtly love-relationship their own as well as their public's taste had, however, changed. This shift in taste is evident in the fact that the form of the Wechsel initially most popular, that of a parallel two-stanza poem, has receded into the background; Reinmar uses it only once in his work while it does not appear at all amongst Walther von der Vogelweide's songs. Both poets together with their contemporary Albrecht von Johansdorf are instead attracted to the possibilities of a developing relationship. The characterisation of the lovers and their differing position within the relationship is in these songs achieved through the protagonists' direct argument with each other or through their descriptions of the relationship as it develops. But even when Reinmar returns to the parallel two-stanza Wechsel as in *Er hat ze lange mich gemiten* (MF 198,4-198,27), which is here discussed in conjunction with the extended parallel Wechsel *Si koment underwilent her* (MF 151,1-151,32), his song is not a direct imitation of the original prototype. Both these songs introduce a new treatment of the time-scheme as well as a clearly differentiated picture of the lovers.

Er hat ze lange mich gemiten is a formally highly wrought two-stanza Wechsel in which both lovers describe their hopes and feelings about the relationship in one stanza. The woman begins this dialogue with a fairly traditional lament about her lover's overlong absence. Interestingly she does not attribute this separation to the hindrances put up by society but blames it on the arbitrary choice of the lover himself: *von siner schulde ich han erliten.* (MF 198,6). The subsequent Abgesang broadens the theme of her longing for the lover with a sophisticated word-game. In it the woman praises her own ability to give her lover greater love and affection than any other woman can offer him. At the same time she also hopes to be equally satisfied by him in some future meeting. This statement is as much an assurance against the competition of other women as it is an expression of the woman's belief in the admirable qualities of the man himself. The urgency of her desire to experience his love is underlined in the final line of the stanza by the association of the image of the eye - the

traditional opening through which love penetrates into the body and by which it is reflected [2]- with the time-adverb *hiute*. The conditional forms of the verbs *geschehen* and *sehen* indicate that the woman is expressing a desire or a dream in which she cannot wholly believe. The stanza ends therefore as it began on a note of uncertainty and even possibly unhappiness.

The man's stanza which follows is simultaneously an answer to the woman's lament, and a parallel account of his own emotional response to their situation. Both effects are achieved through an elaborate game of repetitions. The reproduction of the structure of stanza one in the subsequent stanza through the exact matching of the themes expressed in Aufgesang and Abgesang naturally creates the impression of two parallel statements. The poet intensifies this link between the two stanzas by building the Aufgesang of the man's stanza on a complicated re-use of the last rhyming couplet of the previous stanza. The tension between the static duplication of the themes and the dynamic progression of the events is caused by a change in the moods and tenses of the verbs which make up the rhyme-words. The subjunctives of the woman's stanza *geschaehe / saehe* return in the man's stanza as past indicatives: *geschehen /geschach - gesehen / gesach*. This change in the mood of the verbs as well as the fact that the man celebrates the joys of a meeting poses a problem for our understanding of the relationship. The time-adverb *nu* in the first line suggests that some time has elapsed between the two speeches during which the lovers have met and found closeness.

The final two lines of this stanza mirror as well as outdo the woman's concluding statement. The man promises his beloved greater *vröiden*- a term which specifically refers to the erotic sphere - than he is willing to claim for himself. This offer is first and foremost a demonstration of the love and respect he feels for his *frouwe*:

Ich scheide ir muot von swachem muote.
si ist so guot, ich wil mit guote
ir lonen, ob ich kan, als ich doch gerne kunde. (MF 198,20-198,22)

At the same time his lines, like the woman's, also seem to refer to the future. But if one assumes that the Aufgesang tells of the now past meeting between the lovers and possibly even implies that they have come to fulfill their sexual desires one then has to interpret these last two lines as a basic extension of the concept of courtly love [3]. The ideal of service no longer finds its rewards in the single sexual surrender of the

woman but becomes for the man a life-long task. This in turn means that the woman is no longer perceived merely as an object of erotic desire but is now treated as a genuine human being with whom he can envisage a long-term relationship.

Beyond the observation that the implied passage of time also leads to the development of the relationship, it is also important for this investigation to point to the differences in the moods of the two protagonists. The woman is characterised by an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty which leads her to doubt her own desirability. She therefore has to reaffirm her ability to make the man happier than any other woman could. But even then she is not quite convinced, and the eventual mood of the stanza is one of mingled self-doubt and frustration.

The man on the contrary begins his speech with the self-assured celebration of his success. The second half of his argument then balances this success by a renewed submission to his lady. But even here it is clear that the man speaks from a position of confidence; he believes that he is not only able and experienced enough to fulfill his lady's sexual desires, but that he is beyond this also willing to put his lady's happiness before his own satisfaction.

Reinmar's other parallel Wechsel *Si koment underwilent her* (MF 151,1-151,32) uses basically the same themes but creates with it a very different picture of the protagonists' self-confidence and emotional vitality. As in the previous example, this song also opens with the angry lament of a lonely woman. Beset by the undesired attentions of many men who have come from near and far the protagonist feels herself cruelly reminded of her passion for the one man who has been staying away for a long time. She is vexed by this continued absence because it seems to her to imply a disregard for her desires. Instead of finding happiness with her chosen lover she sees herself surrounded by nothing but envious competitors. This final reinforcement of her lament reminds the listener of the tone of the introductory accusations and thereby gives the argument a circular structure.

The interpretation of the two subsequent stanzas depends at least in part on the understanding of the man's first statement:

Mir ist beschehen, daz ich niht bin
langer vro, wen unz ich lebe. (MF 151,9-151,10)

MF suggests for the conjunction *wen unz* the translation "so lange" [4]. This would give the statement a negative meaning. The stanza would

therefore have to be thought of as continuing the woman's tone of complaint, or with the sole difference that the envy of the surrounding society does not provoke anger in him but a very large measure of caution. Consequently he is only prepared to offer his devotion to those ladies who first give him a favourable sign.

But if one translates *wen unz* as Günther Schweikle does as "als solange" the statement then aquires a positive meaning, and one has to assume, as in *Er hat ze lange mich gemiten*, that the lovers have come together or at least communicated with each other in the lapse of time which lies between the two stanzas [5]. Although the man's final statement still expresses some caution, its main thrust is now the insistence onreciprocity within a relationship.

The third stanza develops the theme of mutuality with the man's account of his long-standing service. He trusts that his lady cannot be influenced by the *nidere* and the *lügenaere*; but that she will eventually be honest enough to grant him his due reward. The man's generally cautious attitude, which like the woman's relates directly to the couple's relationship with society, is expressed again in the fact that he does not press his point but feels able only to argue for the lesser favour of at least not being unjustly rejected.

The final stanza which is again allocated to the woman follows the man's previous stanza closely in its structural and thematic development. The connection between the two stanzas is underlined by the repetition of the initial term *genade*. The woman's stanza is distinguished, however, through its altered positive character. Full of energetic confidence and joy she promises to take her faithful suitor into her bed:

ich sage ime liebiu maere,
daz ich in gelege also,
mich duhte vil, ob ez der keiser waere. (MF 151,30-151,32) [6]

The change in the woman's mood signifies as in the previous example a development of the relationship. But the woman's newly acquired confidence is noteworthy not only because it demonstrates the variability of the lovers' positions but because it is also an example of the wide-ranging possibilities of their sexual roles. It is commonly assumed that the man is the active partner within a courtly relationship; he chooses his lady and then tries to convince her of his devotion through his faithful service while at the same time pressing her for his final reward. She on the other hand can only await the signs of his affection and faithfulness which she

is then not allowed to return openly because of the social restrictions [7]. Even at the moment of their sexual fulfilment she is still thought of as the passive partner who surrenders rather than conquers. In the present poem it appears, however, that the woman who is initially portrayed as a dependent *frouwe* has grown in confidence to the point where she feels able to take the initiative and promise her timid lover sexual intimacy. He, however, even according to Schweikle's understanding of the text remains a reticent and over-cautious character.

The partners' sexual vitality was probably also mirrored in their reception as literary figures. The man's stanzas are unlikely to have produced great excitement but were probably generously received for their sincerity. The woman's surrounding speeches are characterised by greater vigour, and therefore probably also engendered stronger reactions. This, is, of course, particularly relevant for the Abgesang of the woman's final stanza. It stimulates the public's sexual imagination and thereby dispels the audience's own sexual tensions and anxieties. Beyond this simple pleasurable effect, the Abgesang also creates genuine sympathies with the woman's tenderness and generosity. The particular association of personal liking and sexual relief which this poem offers means that the character of the woman remains imprinted upon the listener's memory long after the figure of the man has faded into oblivion.

It is, however, not Reinmar's prime intention simply to amuse his public through the representation of a single clear idea. His main interest is to explore the varied possibilities of the concept of service and reward as implied by the code of the courtly *Minnesang*. These games with the content of the relationship naturally also lead to variations of the form of the dialogue. It is therefore understandable that only two of the eight dialogue poems created by Reinmar engage the lady and her lover in the traditional alternating Wechsel-form. In the other six songs the dialogue-situation becomes a means to create new insights into the possibilities of a conversation between the lovers. The resulting works can eventually be divided into two groups: the first mainly plays with the form of the Wechsel by adding further stanzas to the original alterating two-stanza poem and the second combines the initial dialogue situation as represented by the Wechsel with aspects of other genres [8]. The formally most intriguing song is perhaps *Laze ich minen dienest so* (MF 171,32-172,17) because its woman's stanza appears simultaneously as an answer to the man's demands as well as an isolated stanza within a *Minnelied*.

Reinmar again concerns himself in this poem with the tension which arises for the lover from the gap between his faithful service and its lack of recognition. At the centre of this particular exploration of the subject stand the man's emotions which oscillate between the extremes of dedication and aggression.

The man introduces the public to his plight with a fairly routine complaint about his unrewarded service. But this description is then immediately qualified and heightened by the second half of the stanza where the man speaks of violence as part of his concept of the relationship. The suggestion that the woman

> ... *muoz gewaltes me an mir began*
> *danne an man ie wip begie.* (MF 171,35-171,36)

describes him as an endlessly patient and almost sub-human servant. But with his last line the man acknowledges that he can well perceive the arbitrariness of his chosen position. His concession that he is aware of his capacity to break the bond reinforces his dependence as well as simultaneously admitting that his adopted position is a fictional paradox.

But this somewhat startling concession remains immaterial for the development of the argument. Instead the poem concentrates in the following stanza entirely on the man's intense suffering and his resulting feelings of aggression. He exposes the woman's cruelty through an equation between his emotions and his wordly property. The accusations of his loss are summed up in the phrase

> *user huse und wider dar in*
> *bin ich beroubet alles ,des ich han:* (MF 171,38-171,39).

The term *huse* is here used to describe the man's physical as well as emotional 'estate'. He sees himself as having been robbed of the enjoyment of all his properties by her continued indifference.

From this quite conventional although interestingly graphic description of the ravages of love inflicted upon the individual the poem then goes on to remind the listener of the wider issue of the lady's obligation towards her faithful suitor [9]. Sure of his own right of compensation the man challenges her to a fight in a court of law. The image of a legal battle which again circles around the themes of dedication and aggression creates for the public a new awareness of the forces within the relationship. It pitches the protagonists against each other as opponents rather than lovers while at the same time demanding that the lady allows the development of intimate closeness between them in return for his devoted service.

The third and middle stanza gives the woman an opportunity to answer the man's claims. She does so without ever directly addressing him; instead like her partner she speaks to the audience which also takes on the function of a legal court[10]. The aim of her entire appearance is to refute the man's version of their relationship and thereby to dismiss the idea of his having any rights over her. The metaphors of war with which she confronts the man are of great interest to the interpreter of the poem because they not only link the lady with the representation of women given by earlier poets - and here those described by Der von Kürenbreg spring to mind [11]- but they also indicate the very strength of the sexual tension between the partners. The sexual reality of this warfare only becomes fully clear if one juxtaposes the woman's account of the attack with the defence. She describes herself as *noch nie ... gejaget* (MF 172,7), an image which deliberately plays on the association of hunter and prey. How tangible this threat is to her is made clear by her confident assurance that the man will not find her *ane wer* (MF 172,9) because her whole self or even more specifically her entire body will resiste him [12] as if it were a whole army [13]. The woman's very direct and straightforwardly physical interpretation of the nature of the dispute is thrown into relief in this final statement by the importance which she attributes to her body: it is the object of contention and therefore also her formidable means of defence.

This single-minded statement of the woman is followed by two stanzas spoken by her male partner in which he plays further intellectual games with the two elements of aggression and dedication; but he does so without any direct continuation of the narrative of their dispute. This return to the more general themes creates, after the build-up of a very specific and gripping expectation, the impression of an anti-climax. The following two stanzas illustrate that the woman's interpretation of the argument as a physical threat is only one of the understandings of the intended relationship between service and conquest. The lover's ambitions are actually not directed towards sexual fulfilment but find their ultimate end in continued attendance and service.

Stanza four therefore proposes, or perhaps reminds the listener of another time-scheme; instead of the explosive and short-term combat, the lover speaks of *vil manic jar* (MF 172,11) of quiet service. He evokes the effect which the aging process has brought upon him to prove the length of time passed in suffering; he will soon turn into an old white-haired man

(MF 172, 13-172, 14). The last line of the stanza is also the lead into the train of thought developed in the next one which finally dismisses the possiblity of a deciding duel and thereby transforms the nature of their relationship.

The concluding stanza which brings this new concept of their roles to a climax then extends the idea of his service over the whole of the man's life-time (MF 172, 20); the ethos and experience of the pursuit of a lady undergoes a substantial shift by not, as in the beginning of the poem, conceiving it as a finite period in the man's life but as a condition of his being. The immediate consequence for this argument is that the man appears to diminish the woman's individual importance with this last stanza. Her reaction of anger cannot influence his behaviour; on the contrary, he dismisses her wrath as entirely irrelevant:

1. *si mohte sin gelouben und zurnde anderswa.* (MF 171, 16)
2. *Waenet si daz ich den muot*
   von ir gescheide umbe alse lihten zorn? (MF 172, 17-172, 18)

This unconditional elevation of the ideal of service has the consequence of representing the lovers' relationship as an entirely one-sided affair; or, looked at it from a different angle, it means that the man's ultimate motive in the pursuit of the woman is no longer the desire for their sexual union but the stylised representation of himself as her servant. The resulting shift in their relationship proves here to be not a simple refinement of the concept of courtly love but a genuine change. Its paradoxical effect is, however, that it reduces the woman to a position where she can only be treated as a mere object of male desire or as an ever distant idol. Neither is humanly supportable, and the vitality with which the woman defends herself in her stanza gives the lie to this notion of abstract love.

As far as the evaluation of the relationship between the poet and his public goes, one must presume that this highly intellectual concept of courtly love as it is developed in the last two stanzas was experienced by most as an anti-climax after the dramatic introduction of the first three stanzas. The reason for this is that Reinmar is here not interested in a particular storyline but in the game with an idea. It is most probable that this kind of literature can only have appealed to a small select circle of keenly intelligent people who found similar pleasure in the purity of a concept. The rest, it must be feared, prefer the more easily accessible entertainment of the tale told.

Reinmar was on the other hand too intelligent, and if one is to believe Günther Schweikle too needy to allow himself to write only for a very small group of courtiers [14]. That his public's intellectual tastes or even capacities were formative for his work can be seen through the dialogue-song *Ich werde jaemerlichen alt* (MF 152, 15-152, 33). In this work the poet not only plays with the lovers as individuals but actually uses the possibilities of the relationship to create two different kinds of entertainment. This dependence of the poet upon the listeners not only sheds light on the relationship between the protagonists and the audience but it is also revealing in view of the public's sympathies with the figure of the woman.

In order to illustrate Reinmar's sophisticated awareness of the demands made upon his ability to create captivating song it is, however, first of all necessary to attend to some essential questions concerning the textual transmission of the poem *Ich werde jaemerlichen alt*. The poem exists in two versions; MSS B and C give it as a three-stanza work, while MS E has it as a four-stanza song. The sequence of stanzas differs in both version from that printed in MF

in B and C they are: 3, 2 [vv 1-6+4, vv 7-10], 1
while E has them as: 2, 3 , 1, 4 .

This table shows that all three MSS agree that the two stanzas of the man are followed by the woman's stanza. This alone is strong evidence against Carl v. Kraus' rearrangement of the stanzas in MF(K) which prints the woman's stanza as the introductory stanza. It is there succeeded by the man's three stanzas [15].

As I hope to show, this misplacement of the woman's stanza is not only, as others have remarked, an offence against the evidence of the MSS but it obscures the crucial significance of the woman's stanza as the structural centre of the work [16]. The second equally important objection to the version printed in MF(M/T) is that it seems to suggest that the MSS present the critic with only two variations of the same text while they are in effect two separate versions of, admittedly, the same poem. Both create a coherent song in which the follow-up of thought and thus the order of the stanzas are logical as well as artistically unifying. The dissimilarities between the two versions matter because they influence the character of the poem to the point of achieving a differing form of enjoyment. I therefore wish to discuss the two renderings of this work separately and will, of course, follow it in the sequence of the stanzas as given in the MSS.

I will begin my analysis of this work with the poem as given in MSS B and C because this is, as I intend to demonstrate the intellectually less ambitious and therefore initially more accessible rendering of the work.

Formally the poem is an enlarged Wechsel in which both lovers reflect upon their relationship within the circle of their courtly *welt* without addressing each other directly [17]. Two ample and slow moving stanzas by the man are followed by a compressed and dramatic woman's stanza.

The man's opening lines, in which he reassures the public and his beloved that no other woman could ever separate him from her, touches right at the centre of one of the two main themes of the poem - that of *triuwe* within the lovers' personal relationship. In order to underline his commitment and at the same time to make the listeners aware of his other concern the lover speaks in the subsequent lines about his relationship with the surrounding *welt*. He rather obliquely refers to the suffering imposed upon him by society, but all of it will remain untold. The only thing which he is prepared to admit in accordance with the conventions of courtly love poetry, is that he has been pained by their *niden*. In a return to his account of their love-relationship, he is, however, able at the end of the stanza to dismiss even that distress, because:

ein liebiu maere ist mir gesaget. (MF 152, 14)

The second stanza continues in the same optimistic mood, but using a compositional technique similiar to that already described in *Laze ich minen dienest so* (MF 171, 32-172, 17) Reinmar highlights the two main themes now from a changed angle. In the Aufgesang the lover reveals a further interesting quality of his relationship to the world by discussing his double role as a lover and poet. He resolutely denies the common assumption that love could make him listless and morose, and attributes his days of 'silence' to the intense intellectual preoccupation which befits the poet. A further reference to his generally happy disposition in which he confirms once more his belief that some joyful event might be quite near forms the transition to the Abgesang.

The main reason for his contentment, which is only fully unfolded in these last four lines, links the end of his performance with the beginning of the poem through the resumption of the theme of *triuwe*. His statement implies two noteworthy facts: first he hints that he is concerned about his lady's faithfulness, a doubt which in many other poems is expressed by the woman; and secondly he ranks the contentment which he would experience from the knowledge of his partner's *triuwe* on a par with that felt by others at

the moment of sexual fulfilment, a happiness to which he seems to have given up aspiring. This attitude, which appears to elevate the continuation of the *status quo* in the relationship above the seeking of its final fulfilment, again bears interesting similarities to *Laze ich minen dienest so* (MF 171,32-172,17).

The woman's stanza seems after this climax of hopefulness and joy completely downhearted and also in comparison unrelated. This impression of detachment is created by Reinmar's technique of composition which not only conceives the representation of thought and action as a linear development but also plays with individual themes. The sense of incoherence is reinforced, especially for the modern reader by the unexpected appearance of the messenger.

The problem arises here, as indeed William E. Jackson has recognised but without relating it to the differences in the two versions of the poem , from the modern critic's experience of the poem as a written rather than a performed work of art [18]. The stanza shares its structural pattern with the two previous ones; in the first and second Stollen [abab] the *frouwe* argues about her own position as a courtly lady in the circle of society; the transitional couplet [cc] then reveals the focus of her fears, namely that she dreads the loss of her lover's *triuwe*. The entire Abgesang deals then with the central theme on the level of the lovers' personal relationship.

Having recognised that Reinmar repeats the same central themes within an already well-established structure it now becomes interesting to discover how the differing effect of the stanza is achieved and, of course, what purpose it has.

The Aufgesang attracts immediate attention because of the woman's unusual description of herself as a courtly lady. Her whole picture is so much in opposition to the conventional representation of this role that it could almost be understood as bearing traits of a "verkehrte Welt". Her fear about her status as a courtly lady expresses itself firstly in her awareness of her failure to gain influence upon her lover, and she seems to blame the courtly circle not as is usual for their objections to the relationship but for their lack of help in bringing it about. The woman's claim for recognition as a desirable party becomes even more problematic through her lament over her fading youth. This waning of her youthfulness puts her at risk of being expelled from the circle of courtly lovers because the association between courtly love and youth was not only made by

the seniors of this society in order to channel the sexual energies of the young into a socially acceptable behaviour but also served the young as a crucial quality by which to identify themselves as a socially coherent peer-group [19]. Having exposed her own lack of sexual and social influence upon her lover in a self-description which touches on the possibility of turning her into a comic anti-type of the courtly lady [20], her Aufgesang then culminates in the fear that someone else might be dearer to her lover than she herself.

At this point it becomes important for the evaluation of the stanza to return to its effect upon the listeners. Reinmar creates in the woman's stanza of this otherwise commonplace poem about unfulfilled love an element of suspense because he combines the representation of a somewhat unconventional *frouwe* with the public's realisation of her sense of crisis in the love-relationship. If one accepts her interpretation of a developing crisis in her relationship as well as her life as the purpose of the speech, which reaches its climax in the fear of losing her lover, it becomes clear why the introduction of the messenger is not a sign of incoherence but a structural and artistic necessity. Any direct relationship between the lovers could only result either in the alleviation of her fear through a reassurance by the man or a total break in their relationship. Both paths would in artistic terms have meant an anticlimax. Instead the suspense is kept alive through the deferment of any action by the introduction of the messenger. The poem is directed towards an open ending in which the woman's anxiety about her partner's *triuwe* is not solved but only restated in a more dramatic form. It is up to the public - and this may be one of the main pleasures of the poem - to imagine and possibly find in discussion different solutions to the lovers' problem.

The other, and probably from a mere reading, less obvious pleasure of the appeareance of the messenger is that the so far reflective poem about *triuwe* can be opened up into a little scene in which the suspense until now generated by words can suddenly be supported and enlivened by mimed action.

The possibility of such a dramatic performance does not naturally suggest itself for the four-stanza version of the poem, as rendered in MS E because the woman's lament is there answered by her partner in an additional stanza [21]. As already outlined above this response changes the effect of the woman's-stanza in such a way that it no longer appears as the climax of the poem but merely as the link between the two sets of man's stanzas. Its main relationship to the following fourth stanza, and this is after all

what prompts the change, consists again not in the development of the protagonists' relationship as this could be told in a narrative but is a matter of thematic and structural echoes. The first six lines of each of the last two stanzas - that is, the Aufgesang plus the transitional couplet cc [22] - deal with the relationship between the lovers and the courtly society. The second half of the stanza, the Abgesang, explores the more personal side of their relationship with the theme of *triuwe* as the centre of their thoughts as well as their speech. The correspondences go as far as verbal repetitions of the same key-terms. Thus the woman finishes her Abgesang with the words: *diu triuwe, der wir pflagen* e.[23] (MF152,24); the man takes this expression up again at the structurally prominent place of the first line of his Abgesang: *wil diu schoene triuwe pflegen.* (MF 152,30) [24]. As the listener and critic become familiar with the structure of the argument through the re-use of the same elements of thought the woman's stanza also becomes less innovative. The feeling of suspense fades and is replaced by pleasure in the recognition of the complicated correspondences.

Once it has become clear that these two stanzas aim to give a specific form of pleasure different from that of the three-stanza poem, it seems only reasonable to suspect that Reinmar created these two versions of the poem so that he could offer two alternative kinds of enjoyment.

Although the two versions share the repetitions of the same themes in each stanza, their diverging constructional plan lays emphasis on different characteristics and thus changes the form of pleasure to be gained from the poem. The three-stanza version is geared to engaging the listener's concern for the lovers' fate through a build-up of suspense. This is partly done by contrasting the moods of the lovers in such a way that each description instils the public with surprise and partly because their lack of success makes them human, and therefore the listener can sympathise with their problem. The story of this involvement is developed in a linear way because the initial surprise over the man's cheerfulness against all expectations followed by his surrender of his sexual hopes is then heightened and brought to a climax in the woman's stanza. Here the dejection, which at the beginning is felt as alienating because it comes as such a shock, is then in the course of the stanza used to induce a strong feeling of compassion for the lovers. This compassion engages the audience and holds their attention until the end.

The four-stanza version despite its similarities in the use of the themes has an entirely different structural plan. Here the tensions created by the alternating moods of the protagonists are not brought together in a single culmination point, instead the representation of the argument spreads out into a complicated network of correspondences which appeal to the listener because of the intellectual rather than emotional pleasure which they afford.

The man therefore opens the poem with a statement about his own situation as a poet dedicated to his art. But seeing that his quiet intensity is mistaken for love-sickness, he is obliged to point out in his Abgesang that moroseness would be entirely alien to his naturally cheerful disposition. The second stanza which largely continues the same themes produces a problem because unlike all the other stanzas it lacks the clear syntactical break between the Aufgesang and the Abgesang [25]. Although this disturbs the structural clarity of the poem, it can nevertheless be affirmed that the Aufgesang returns here to the theme of the man's relationship with society, and especially to the assumptions of his position as a lover which he now describes in a more specific way. The Abgesang on the other hand is again given over to the expression of his optimism about his personal relationship.

This simple relationship between the stanzas becomes far more complicated with the introduction of the woman's stanza despite the fact that it keeps the same thematic division of the stanza. Firstly this stanza as a whole represents in its pessimism the antithesis to the man's cheerful hopes. This general opposition is echoed in the details of the stanza. Thus the woman's Aufgesang in which she laments her ineffectiveness as a sexual partner stands in striking contrast to the man's reassurance in his directly preceding Abgesang that they can communicate intimately. Her following Abgesang, in its threatening the total break-off of the relationship, opposes her own desire for its continuation as expressed in the Aufgesang. Her anxiety about her lover's *triuwe* is doubly answered in the man's following stanza. In its optimism it has again an antithetical relationship to the woman's stanza. His Aufgesang is the answer to the woman's Abgesang in so far as it denies a break in his willingness to keep the same *triuwe* as before. Simultaneously, of course, it repeats the structure of the previous three stanzas and therefore relates very specffically back to the man's own argument, as put in his previous three stanzas as well as in the woman's Aufgesang. He refutes her statement that

she has no influence upon him and attributes the lack of intimacy between them to the hindrances put up by the *merkære*. Like her he also shows a rather unconventional attitude to courtly society which nevertheless fits in with her view that they can gain social status by achieving a love-relationship. Where she blames the world for snubbing her by not according her the due amount of support, he reassures the public that they would approve of him if only he was allowed to demonstrate his own abilities according to his desires. His final Abgesang restates the same issue but in more personal terms, and thereby gives the woman a specific answer to her suggestion about the possible loss of faithfulness. The certainty about his own commitment displayed here is the final antithesis to her doubts. By judging her *triuwe* as more important than his own sexual ambitions he forges a stronger bond with her than most conventional lovers.

The intricacies particular to this discussion of a love-relationship open up two issues within the space of this enquiry: the first concerns the plausibility of such a complicated system of correspondences as entertainment and the second looks at the role of the woman and that of her stanza.

For the modern reader unaccustomed to the mental skills acquired in a predominantly oral culture and bereft of the musical accompaniments which probably made the differences as well as possibly the references between the Aufgesang and Abgesang more obvious, the complications of this network of arguments seem overwhelming. But there is no doubt that this very complexity in the presentation of an argument was highly prized and frequently practised amongst twelfth-and thirteenth-century clerics when discussing theological problems. That such intellectual games were also popular among the aristrocratic lay-population can not only be suspected because we know that the education of noble children was mostly entrusted to the very same clerics, but also because the emphasis on intellectually pleasing forms as seen in other poems points in the same direction [26].

The remaining question about the role of the woman within the Wechsel is generally linked to the poet's wish or need to entertain. The version rendered in MSS B and C is certainly memorable because the listener enjoys the suspense which the poet builds up out of the lovers' diverging accounts of their relationship, but this process also holds problems for the understanding of the real nature of their bond. The difficulty is here caused by the poet's disregard of one of the fundamental rules of the parallel Wechsel. The apparent lack of agreement in the lovers' perception

of their relationship leaves the listener with an incongruous picture. This is particularly true for the protagonists' response to the possibility of achieving sexual intimacy. While the man seems to be convinced that they will come together and eventually find fulfilment, the woman expresses her fear that she has become uninteresting to her partner. In her depressed uncertainty she charges the messenger with the task of sounding her lover out. This unusual device certainly captures the public's attention, but it does not solve the puzzle about the lovers' relationship, indeed it reinforces the speculations. If this was the poet's intention, and one must assume that an author with Reinmar's intelligence and professional maturity carefully planned the effect of his works, then one can again see in this Wechsel the discovery of new possibilities for the dialogue-poem [27]. Reinmar, with his contrasting description of the lovers' sense of their relationship, goes beyond the simple representation of the courtly bond as a problem; his dramatic open ending seems to be there in order to invite further discussion or at least speculation.

The four-stanza version of MS E, because of its structural differences, gives a quite dissimilar picture of the relationship between the sexes and achieves through it a more important status for the woman. The addition of a fourth stanza means that the woman's stanza becomes now the centripetal momentum of the poem which binds the two parts of the man's speech together without necessarily being able to solve all the problems in the perception of the relationship. These problems lose their relative importance when the listener is faced with the woman's genuine and dramatically expressed display of passion. Compared with the even-tempered and happy man she makes an outstandingly memorable appearance which returns to her that predominance which she feels herself lacking within the relationship.

The notion of the impressiveness of the protagonists as courtly lovers is not a gratuitous one in Reinmar's work. As in the last of the dialogue-songs to be discussed in this sequence of poems appearing in MF under Reinmar's name, it allows one to make interesting suggestions about the poet's general handling of the courtly love-relationship and its literary reception. *Ich lebte ie nach der liute sage* (MF 152,25-152,34) is furthermore proof that the thorny problem of the variant versions of Reinmar's works has many different possible solutions, each according to the textual transmission and the artistic quality of the individual song.

The main problem in the interpretation of *Ich lebte ie nach der liute sage* again stems initially from serious textual problems involving both the

question of the position of these stanzas within a whole network of stanzas and their authorship. The full complexity of the manuscript tradition is fairly extensively documented in the *Erläuterungen to Minnesangs Frühling* and needs no further addition here.

C	B	E^1	A^1	E^2	A^2	C^1	C^2	
Rei	Rei	Rei	Rei	Rei	Wa	Wa	Wa	
11	9	285	29	—	—	—	—	V.1
12	10	—	30	—	—	—	—	V.2
13	11	286	—	—	—	—	—	V.3
14	—	—	—	332	24	—	355	IV.1
—	—	—	—	—	25	250	356	IV.2
15	12	284	28	—	—	—	—	V.4
16	—	—	31	—	—	—	—	V.5
17	—	—	32	—	—	—	—	V.6
18	—	—	33	—	—	—	—	V.7
19	13	—	—	333	26	—	357	IV.4
—	—	—	—	334	27	251	358	IV.3

[28]

The conclusions drawn from this conflicting evidence have, as one may expect, been speculative and divergent [29]. But if one limits the inquiry only to the four stanzas printed as one song in MF, then one finds that at least three of the MSS suggest that they were indeed perceived in their time as belonging together: MS E^2 carries three of the stanzas while MS A^2 and C^2 present the work as a four-stanza poem [30]. A comparative table of these stanzas and the MF text looks like this:

MF	MS E^2 (Reinmar)	MS C^2 (Walther)	MS A^2 (Walther)
I	332	335	24
II	_	336	25
III	334	338	27
IV	333	337	26

An interpretation of the textual evidence based purely on the evidence of the MSS would therefore suggest a reversal of the third and fourth stanza which for this reason will in the following discussion be assumed to be the intended order of these stanzas. The other conclusion suggested by this table concerns the authorship. The evidence seems here to point towards Walther von der Vogelweide and not, as the editors of MF suggest to Reinmar.

The poem as printed in MF is an enlarged Wechsel in which two woman's stanzas are matched by two stanzas spoken by the man. The partners do not directly communicate with each other but on the other hand their accounts of their problems are also not exactly parallel.

The two woman's stanzas are interested in questions of her moral conduct. Once again the problem is considered as a public as well as a private issue, and each receives its own space within the argument. The former is highlighted in the introductory stanza while the latter receives consideration in the second stanza. The train of thought put forward as well as its verbal expression represents nothing unusual within the genre of the Wechsel. Indeed, the woman's uncertainties about her ethical relationship to courtly society and her suspicions about the man's intentions and in particular his willingness to be faithful fit in particularly well with the Reinmarian Wechsel. Doubts about this relation only arise at the very end of the woman's argument when she speaks about the man's reward;

haet ich iht lieber danne den lip,
des mües er herre sin! (L. 71,26)

This refusal to commit her person as well as specifically her sexual self makes a nonsense out of any love-relationship; and it becomes almost grotesque in the context of courtly love where the achievement of the sexual union is the aim and driving force of the relationship.

The problems with artistic evaluation which affect the understanding of the lovers' commitment to each other as well as the speculation about the authorship of this work continue in small but numerous ways in the man's stanzas. Two points capture the critic's attention, one relating to the development of the argument, the other, closely interlinked with it, to its stylistic representation.

The third stanza which MF has, of course, as the fourth in its version, deals with two issues, both of them represented in a recognisably Reinmarian style [31]. The first anticipates the lover's rejection by his lady and the second, notably similar to the attitude expressed in *Laze ich minen dienest so* (MF 171,32-172,17) affirms that the man is set to serve his lady regardless of her rejection of him. Although this treatment of the woman as a lifeless object of dedication has many parallels in Reinmar's lyrics [32], the critic's suspicions about the authorship are aroused by the non-functional repetitions of words: so stanza three has the verb *tuon* in line 6 (*taete*) and in line 7 (*tuon*); and similarly stanza four repeats the expression *swaere [] han* (line 3) in line 7 with *swaere trage*.

The fourth and last stanza contributes further to the impression of a certain blankness in the character of the male protagonist because this stanza only spells out in more detail what has already been announced in

the previous one. This consolidation of his chief concern in a second stanza matches exactly the technique employed in the woman's speech. But while there the second stanza intensifies the listener's understanding of her anxiety, here it only gives an extended description of the man's determination to continue with his love-suit despite his suffering. The difference between the two explanations lies in the intensity of involvement which the spectator is invited to feel. The initially witty impetus of the man's last stanza is subsequently lost in the short, mainly one-line statements of already familiar trains of thought. This long elaboration upon one single point is in danger of becoming tiresome. In the case of the woman's stanza the impression is, however, a quite different one because the gradual intensification of her passionate fear and suspicion increases the audience's emotional interest in her. The strength of her feelings becomes memorable through their climactic structure. It is important for this particular study to point out that the woman achieves once again an artistically more prominent status because her stanza provides the more satisfying entertainment.

The final evaluation as well as the intention of the style displayed in the poem is, however, directly linked to its very uncertain chronological place within Reinmar's poetic career. In the case of this song the solution of two critical problems depends on it. The first makes a judgement about the quality of the poem as a work of art while the second attempts to solve the puzzle about the authorship of these stanzas.

Two things have already become clear from the discussion above, especially if this poem is seen in conjunction with Reinmar's other Wechsel: that these stanzas express distinctly Reinmarian attitudes in a style and diction which conforms with other poems attributed to this author. If this stylistic identification also means that the stanzas were written by Reinmar, as W. E. Jackson argues, then one must either assume that the poem belongs in the early years of his career when the blank statement of the man's attitudes had still enough novelty value to capture the public's interest or that it is a later rather uninventive and possibly tiresome repetition of his views [33]

But the manuscript evidence as well as our knowledge about the at times perhaps rather less than friendly literary contest between Reinmar and Walther von der Vogelweide offers another possible interpretation [34]. This song could be a pastiche of a Reinmarian love-poem by Walther. The acceptance of such a suggestion would solve a number of problems

surrounding this poem. The first simply relates to the fact that two out of three MSS versions attribute a song in recognisably Reinmarian style to Walther von der Vogelweide [35]. That Walther was able to write such a pastiche and enjoyed doing so, is attested in his song *Ein man verbiutet ane pflicht* [36]. Attribution of the poem to Walther would accomplish more than the mere settlement of a problem of transmission; it affects the whole understanding of the song.

The two woman's stanzas have as their subject-matter a question which Walther considers in several other poems but notably in his Wechsel *Frouwe'n lat iuch niht verdriezen* [37]. The two main differences between these two poems show themselves in the poet's diction, a very complicated question which would necessitate a detailed comparison of the poets' styles, and in the character of the protagonists' sexual relationships [38]. In *Frouwe'n lat iuch niht verdriezen* the woman appears as a confident and wordly-wise partner who is at least prepared to imagine the possibility of a sexual relationship. Reinmar's women, however, are so concerned with the protection of their virtue that this defence of the *lip* becomes a paramount object of the relationship. The acknowledgement of this difference as well as the recognition of *Ich lebte ie nach der liute sage* as a Walther pastiche of attitudes associated with Reinmar would then also solve the difficulty occurring at the end of the woman's speech. Her assurance that she would grant the man anything but her *lip* appears now as a deliberate and malicious exaggeration of Reinmar's ethic of sexual denial. The effect of such a distorted imitation is, of course, to produce amusement.

The compositional intention of the fast follow-up of Reinmarian stock-phrases, which all sound like familiar quotations from other poems but which never reach any geniune depth of feeling, becomes now also more intelligible. Its effect is again to give mock imitations of Reinmar's poetry, but here the attack is simultaneously on two fronts. The implied suggestion of the two man's stanzas seems to be that Reinmar's poetry is not only repetitive to the point of becoming uninterestingly overfamiliar, but that the service-ideal of the male figure is an unreal pose which is centred on nothing but self-pity. A final understanding of the possible comedy is, of course, lost for us because it would depend a great deal on the gestic as well as musical accompaniments of the recital.

Playing games with the role of other poets as well as that of his own persona is a well-known and often discussed trademark of Walther von der Vogelweide's own lyrical work [39]. It inspires him not only to parody of a Reinmar Wechsel but more importantly gives shape to his own dialogue-poem *Frouwe'n lat iuch niht verdriezen* [40]. The song is one of two works in which Walther plays with a direct confrontation of the lady and her lover [41]. Although the song, according to Theodor Frings' leading study on this question, is formally fashioned after the example of the Provençal tenzone [42], it takes its most significant thematical clues from the re-use of the play on the word *lip* from the German Wechsel [43]. The topic of the conquest of the woman's *lip* and the resulting play with the double meaning of 'body' and 'life' is most obviously central to Reinmar's *Laze ich minen dienest so* (MF 171,32-172,17) and Dietmar von Eist's *Wart ane wandel ie kein wip* (MF 40,19-41,6). Both Wechsel interweave the relationship between the protagonists themselves with that which they have with the audience through the man's double role as poet and lover. This fusion of the man's two functions is easily discerned in Dietmar von Eist's poem, and its influence upon the relationship has already been discussed above [44]. In Reinmar's song it is admittedly less apparent, but nonetheless still perceptible, in particular in the first two stanzas where the man addresses the public as his jury, while the final couple of stanzas remind the audience of his well-established literary persona as the woman's long-suffering servant. Similarly Walther also plays with the man's relationship, only in his case the recognisable stylisation of his male protagonist derives as much from Walther's position as a minstrel as it does from his claim that there should be reciprocity of feeling and response between two loving partners.

The introduction to the poem is presented as a personal and almost intimate offer of love and submission and belongs, like the first stanza of Dietmar von Eist's poem, to the genre of the Frauenlob. With it the poem reveals itself immediately as that very public and official service which, as Erich Kleinschmidt formulates it, befits the lyric poet: "Inhalt dieses Dienstes ist das *wol sprechen*, der Frauenpreis" [45]. The woman recognises and exploits this second interpretation of the man's address. As her own function as a courtly lady depends in part on the poet's praise of her good qualities, she is prepared in return for this service to engage in ~~to~~ a dialogue with her minstrel. But she remains at least partly detached. Teasingly, she asks the poet in his function as an authority on

courtly behaviour - and not the lover whom she herself ought to teach and tame [46] - to describe to her *wibes güete* (L. 86, 12), so that in the right and proper way her outer beauty might be the reflection of her moral excellence [47].

In the third and central stanza Walther attempts to fuse his claim for recognition as a poet with that for his acceptance as an equal lover and man. The Aufgesang therefore repeats the general programme of courtly behaviour as it might have been presented by any poet. In the Abgesang, as Konrad Burdach has suggested, Walther enters into a new and much more personal relationship with his *frouwe* [48]. He, as is characteristic for his newly developing concept of love, demands that the woman give her *lip*, and here he expressedly means her life and her body, to a man, and receive in return his committed and lasting attachment. At the same time as presenting a plea for acceptance as a worthy and equal lover, Walther also advances through the image of reciprocity the idea of his full acceptance as a member of the feudal household. Like a vassal he wishes to receive and offer a promise of mutual commitment.

In her role of courtly *frouwe* and grande dame the woman has to reject at least the claim for her personal love. She does this by outlining the clear limits of her relationship with him. He is only accepted as her *redegeselle* (L. 86, 28) and not as he propses as her "Bettgeselle"insince this is a position he has not yet earned [49]. To dismiss the whole concept of the exchange of their commitments the lady closes the stanza with a pun on the taking of the *lip*. She would not wish to be so cruel as to take a man's life, it could possibly hurt him. The deliberate and comical misuse of this demand of mutuality not only has the effect of distancing her from the lover, but also puts the poet as a man in his place.

The final stanza of the song, so far equally divided stanza by stanza, is split into two parts, as the pace of the argument between the protagonists quickens. The first gives the man's answer. In it Walther repeats his dedication as a lover by expanding on the idea of giving up his life for the love of his lady. The loss of his *lip* under these circumstances would seem to him a beautiful death. But the very phrasing of this statement *stirbe ab ich, so bin ich sanfte tot* (L. 86, 34) might indeed again allude to the power of his function as a poet. In the "sumerlaten-Lied" (L. 72, 31) he makes it unmistakeably clear with the almost identical phrase *stirbe ab ich, so ist si tot* (L. 73, 16) that the lady's standing in courtly

society depends a great deal on the poet's public praise of her [50]. Her concluding reaction spins out and underpins her determination to dismiss the lover's claim as irrelevant and also unrealistic. She does this with a continuation of the pun on the lost *lip*. As a highly placed *frouwe* she can well believe that the man would want to give his life for her, but she for her part neither feels obliged nor wants to repay him in equal coin. The refusal to accept the man as her lover also affects Walther the poet. He is not taken into her service, and with it the social distance remains as it was.

The most difficult part in the evaluation of this song derives, however, not from the insight into the lovers' relationship but from the understanding of its effect upon the listeners. It is very difficult to determine its nature with exactitude. The reasons for this largely stem from the fact that the characterisation of the literary figures seems here as elsewhere in Walther's work to be bound up with the author's own person. What can be noted, and it is in comparison with the songs of other poets unexpected, is that the woman puts forward the central witticism and through it wins the argument both intellectually and socially, but does not eventually appear as the most stirring character. Part of this is due to the fact that throughout the song she only reacts to ideas initially put forward by the man. In her answers she very much defends the traditionally held position of the courtly *frouwe* without inspiring the audience with new and excitng insights into the possibilities of her relationship.

This marks from the beginning of the poem the difference between her and the man. His introductory statement

Frouwe'n lat iuch niht verdriezen
miner rede, ob si gefüege si. (L.-K. 85, 35-85, 36)

calls upon the woman to allow him to address her personally without her paying undue attention to the form of his *rede*. This is a quite unusual and in some way also unacceptable demand - which therefore also attracts the public's attention - because it is the poet's and the lover's task to glorify the lady in well-formed and seemly stanzas [51]. This hint at a shift in their relationship is then expanded upon in the third stanza with the man's bold demand for exact reciprocity. With it he not only proposes a vision of their own personal relationship but also, as poet and man, outlines new and exciting possibilities for the courtly love-relationship as a whole. The novelty and audacity of this claim stirs the listeners imagination. Fresh and possibly unnerving pictures of a changed

relationship impress themselves upon the mind and are remembered. The awakened sense of the man's willingness to be daring is continued as well as smoothed over with his final offer to die for the love of the woman. On the one hand the statement is perfectly conventional and befits the dedicated lover but on the other hand it is also a humorous but quite direct reinforcement of the claim for the woman's sexual love by a minstrel who looks back on an arduous past and towards a pleasanter future. The persona of the man eventually feeds the mind with a variety of issues and images which continue to work upon the imagination beyond the physical end of the poem while the woman's witticism only gives pleasure within the confines of a restricted play of words.

Walther's other dialogue-poem *Gnade, frowe! tuo also bescheidenliche* (L. 70,22) is perhaps one of the most involving accounts of the needs and anxieties of two lovers in a courtly relationship. Although the song differs through its more serious mode and its approach to the question of the lovers' sexual fulfilment from *Frowe'n lat iuch niht verdriezen* (L. 85,34), it nevertheless has some essential thematic points of contact with this song. The main and most important characteristic of both poems is Walther's insistence on the lovers' mutual obligation towards each other.

The protagonists' struggle for emotional and sexual closeness again takes the form of a discussion, but this time - and this echoes the complexity of the subject-matter - the dialogue follows a rather more sophisticated structural pattern. Instead of the simple linear development of thought and argument, the poet interweaves two structural plans. The two outer stanzas [I+ IV] which form the framework of the poem retain the dialogue character, where the partners address each other directly, while the two inner stanzas follow the pattern of the Wechsel type II, in which the partners react to each other but do so by addressing their thoughts to the public in general. This already complex scheme is added to by the fact that the arguments of the individual stanzas also interrelate in the way one would expect from any ordinary dialogue: that is to say, the train of thought proceeds in a linear pattern from one stanza to the next. But the development of the relationship - and that means the woman's response to the man's initial proposal about the form of their relationship - takes place directly from stanza one to stanza four. It is nevertheless not correct to imagine the poem as divided into two separate parts. Instead

the patterns overlap in such a way that stanza four must be perceived as a reaction to stanza three as well as an answer to stanza one.

The thematic similarities between Walther's two dialogue-poems show themselves most obviously in their introductory stanzas. Both poems open with a *captatio benevolentiae* by the man, a device through which he hopes to gain the lady's good-will despite his admitted shortcomings. But even here the two songs differ; while in *Frowe'n lat iuch niht verdriezen* (L. 85,34) the man is mainly troubled by the possibility that his *frouwe* will be angered by his words, and he will implicitly be rejected as a poet, in *Gnade, frowe! tuo also bescheidenliche* (L. 70,22) it is the condamnation of his ethical behaviour which concerns him. Although the two male characters are represented in different ways the result is much the same in both stanzas. In each the man first has to win the respect of the *frouwe*, and then hope for her favourable and loving reponse.

As the study of the love-relationships presented through the Wechsel has, however, made clear, the issue between the partners is generally more specific than the simple acceptance of the man as a suitable conversation-partner or friend. It circles very specifically around the problems of the sexual ethic implied in the concept of courtly love. The difficulties are mainly linked, as indeed they are here, to the dichotomy between the protagonists' social role and their individual human needs and desires. The poem under consideration defines this difference between the partners' conventionally assumed roles and their personal hopes through the example of an argument about fidelity. From the very first stanza it becomes obvious that the man, although giving a genuine assurance of his commitment to the lady, needs to satisfy his erotic life with a greater stimulus than the simple promise of a later fulfilment. He therefore begs his lady to be lenient with him at least from time to time and to allow him to find sexual love elsewhere.

Although this proposition is likely to touch and amuse the public because of its daring mixture of honesty and offensive insolence, it is, of course, unacceptable, not only on human grounds, as the woman will explain in the following stanza, but also because it negates the very purpose of this relationship which lies in the experience of the passionate dedication of the lovers to a single partner. The concentration of erotic energy upon one single partner has two results. First it provides the lovers with that resistance which the relationship needs in order to be sustained against social hindrances. Secondly it also lets the concept of loyalty within

the relationship appear as a useful analogy to the other socially as well as emotionally powerful relationship at court, that between the lord and his retainers. With it this love-relationship becomes a useful example of an important behavioural norm. That such poetic reinforcement was necessary and customary is documented both in Provençal lyric which based their conception of courtly love on the model of the relationship between the lord and his vassal, and in French epics [52]. In the *Couronnement de Louis* it is even openly admitted that not all men could be relied upon to keep to their promise of lasting support and fiendship:

Là tous jurèrent le serment.
Tel le jura, qui le tint bravement;
Tel aussi, qui ne le tint point du tout. [53]

The woman's introverted and intimate answer, as it is given as a reflection upon her own situation and spoken to the public in general, contrasts sharply in character with the man's provocative demand. In it the woman firmly lays claim to the whole and single-minded attention of her lover. Her reason for wanting his loyalty again has a relationship to the feudal context of the lovers' lives. In times of her need for his love and service, she cannot bear it if he is away with another woman, in the same way as the lord cannot exercise his power effectively when he is not assured of the faithful service of his retainers. Beyond the simple social analogies already outlined, the woman also has to resist this demand because it lowers her influence and social standing within the circle of men attracted to her. Last but certainly not least, it is an offence against her very personal human desire to be loved. It is important to draw attention here to the split in the woman's position which is even more pronounced in some of the courtly genres: as a *frouwe* she stands above the man but as a human individual she depends on his decision to favour her.

The admission and rejection of the man's repeated offence is then opened up again in the second half of the poem into a discussion about mutual obligations for the establishment of a satisfactory relationship.

In the third stanza which constitutes the man's reponse to the woman's complaint, the lover levels two arguments against his lady. Both are closely connected to her position as *frouwe*. He firstly argues with her right to be angry with him because

Sin gehiez mich nie geleben nach ir lere,
swie jamerlich ich sis gebat. (L. 71,3-71,4)

But this reason, although very cleverly chosen, seems only partly

admissible because the man's veiled references to other times of unfaithfulness demonstrates without any doubt that he is aware of the nature of the offence.

ich nenne ez niht, ich meine jenz, du weist ez wol.
ich sage dir wes ich angest han:
da fürht ich daz ichz wider lerne. (L. 70, 28-70, 30) [54]

The implied intimacy of these lines suggests that some communication has taken place between the lovers, although the reader is not clearly informed of its exact nature. All the man can therefore claim is that he has not received guidance from his lady on how to deal positively with the relationship.

The second half of the stanza then proposes a solution to the dilemma. He not only wants a woman's sexual love for his enjoyment, and that redeems the initial impression of superficiality of character, but he interprets her yielding to him as a sign of her definite commitment to the relationship. He is therefore only prepared to give up other relationships if in exchange she will give him that particular assurance of her love and commitment to him.

Within the conventions of the courtly relationship his representation of his demand as an already overdue obligation is simultaneously an accusation against his lady. She has wronged her faithful servant by not granting him his reward, a further rather oblique reference to the analogy between love-service and feudal service.

But most importantly this shows the extent of difference between the lovers' ideas of the preconditions for a successful commitment. Here, as in the previous poem, the protagonists reach a stalemate, because they both want a tangible sign of love, but unfortunately their demands are mutually exclusive.

This seemingly paradoxical position is partially solved in the final stanza of the poem in which the woman sums up her view of a responsible and sharing relationship. The stanza responds directly to the man's accusations, but the argument implicitly also includes and is addressed to the man's initial claim for her tolerance of his other relationships. The woman admits to not having paid sufficient attention to his pressing entreaties but justifies her reticence by reminding him of her observation of his *unstaetekeit* (L. 71, 15), which in terms of their relationship is also a breach of contract.

By choosing to attack the man's pursuit of erotic pleasure with the quasi-proverbial phrase *gemeine liep daz dunket mich gemeinez leit* (L. 71, 16) the woman sets her concept of the true love-relationship against that of the man. In her understanding, unwavering commitment to the relationship is the central characteristic of this particular concept of love. The completeness of the commitment finds proof in the partners' willingness to share each others' pleasures as well as sufferings. The man's desire to gratify his sexual desires in other relationships and to leave the lady in loneliness is therefore exposed as a selfish and unloving pursuit of physical enjoyment.

The phrasing of this principle in a near proverbial form lends this initially personal view the weight of the communally accepted code. The man's behaviour is therefore not only seen as an offense against an individual woman but can now be condemned as generally anti-social. From this position of power, the woman can finally establish her claim for her lover's undivided dedication as a demand *sine qua non*; because without it *tar ich dich niht geminnen* (L. 71, 18).

The essential and for this study most remarkable observation about Walther's two dialogue-poems derives from the comparison of the protagonists' roles. Although the ending of each poem leaves the woman as the clear winner of the argument, intellectually and morally, this does not make her into the most admired character. This is a position which Walther reserves for his male figures through which he projects his own literary persona. This link between the literary self-stylisation and the suspected real-life character which is particularly prominent in Walther's work probably arises from the dichotomy between his recognition as an outstanding artist and his simultaneous treatment as a socially inferior human being. The direct consequence of this very difficult position seems to have been that Walther again and again felt it necessary to demonstrate to his patrons his personal as well as poetic worth.

The reflection of this need to shine expresses itself in *Frowe'n lat iuch niht verdriezen* through the man's self-confident and passionate inner energy. The introductory pose of submissiveness must therefore not be taken at face value. On the contrary, it is a platform from which the man wishes to launch his particular bid for equal acceptance as a human being. In artistic terms this means that Walther gives to his male protagonists a greater and more surprising freedom of expression of thought and feeling than to his rather conventional women. This applies both to their ideas as

well as to the linguistic and metaphorical form in which they are clad. An especially poignant example of this technique of composition can be observed in the innner two stanzas of *Gnade, frowe! tuo also bescheidenliche*. Although the woman's stanza employs perfectly valuable and correct notions of the courtly love argument, it leaves no particularly memorable impression. The reasons for this lie more with the presentation of the ideas than with their content. The woman is calm and collected. Her speech nowhere resorts to superlatives or pictorial verbs. This quiet firmness which elsewhere might have been admirable appears bland in comparison with the man's excited answer. The man's willingness to underline his claim with highly emotive language, in the process of which he does not even mind disregarding the factual truth, is already apparent in the opening line of his response [55]. The superlative *ze sere* in line one is quickly followed by another over-dramatisation: *sin gehiez mich nie geleben nach ir lere* (L. 71,3). But even with this accusation the description of the man's intense suffering has not yet reached its final height; the following line adds to it with the passionate adverb *jamerlich* and, if this is not enough, the man then tries to secure the public's sympathy and help through a directly put rhetorical question. His powers of persuasion are, however, not only sufficient to create sympathies, they can, as the second half of the stanza illustrates, also hold the public's attention and eventually even create space for the expression of almost insolent self-confidence.

This basic inner independence also constitutes one of the most important differences between Reinmar's and Walther's self-stylisations. Although Walther's male protagonist is prepared to dedicate himself to a woman, he does not want to become a conventional suitor. Instead, and this is expressed in both poems, he demands the full investment of her love and commitment in exchange for his own. This eventual challenge to the concept of courtly love, which is otherwise based on the model of a hierarchical structure, is all the more memorable because it replaces the idea of ethical improvement with that of personal human worthiness. With this new model the social aspect of the courtly ethic which is so central to the system recedes into the background, and that despite the many analogies between love-service and feudal service.

The logical problem which arises for the man from the combination of the courtly ethic with the advancement of his claim for individual recognition can only be partially solved. Walther basically helps himself by

continually balancing the man's superior rhetorical powers against the conventional but soundly argued position of the *frouwe*. The overall effect of this form of writing on the public is to produce a feeling of uncertainty. The audience may sympathise with the woman because she presents the logically more persuasive arguments but at the same time they may also feel more strongly attracted to the man because of his unusually dramatic claim for the acknowledgement of his person. Walther's choice to represent his characters in this very distinctive way is not only influenced by the need to make the relationship entertaining to the audience but it also accounts substantially for the affection and respect which this poet has inspired in his contemporaries as well as his twentieth-century critics. The very special individuality of the male characters is on the other hand also a reason why Walther's art did not find any immediate successors.

The final two songs to be discussed in this chapter differ from the majority of poems analysed here in so far as they relate to the Wechsel through their dialogue-form and their subject-matter, but they are not truly examples of this genre. The first of these is Albrecht von Johansdorf's song *Ich vant si ane huote* (MF 93, 12-94, 14) while the other is a Botenlied by Reinmar: *Sage, daz ich dirs iemer lone* (MF 177, 10-177, 39). The inclusion of the latter song in this chapter needs clarification especially as the messenger does not appear as the man's representative whereas he does in Dietmar von Eist's extended Wechsel *Sich hat verwandelt diu zit* (MF 37, 30-38, 31).

Formally this five stanza song offers in its first three stanzas a conversation between the lady and a man who is close to her lover [56], while the following pair of stanzas extends the argument with reflections by the woman about her predicament. But the affinity of this work with the extended Wechsel goes further than simple formal similarity; as in the conventional Wechsel the song's main concern is the relationship between the man's efforts and his sexual reward.

What on the other hand distinguishes these two works from many others is that the man uses his rhetorical powers as an active and acknowledged means to induce his beloved to yield sexually to him while simultaneously creating intellectual *froide* for his listening public. But while the overlapping relationship between the real public and the fictitious lovers is obvious in Reinmar's poem it needs further discussion in Albrecht von

Johansdorf's otherwise quite simple and in parts repetitive poem.

The seven stanzas follow one pattern of construction, apart from the first one where the Aufgesang constitutes an introduction:

lines 1-2 a b are spoken by the man
3-4 a b give the woman's answer
line 5 c again given to the man
6 c the woman's final reponse

The rapid alternation of speakers makes for a lively but basically unreflective dialogue with its emphasis on the witty handling of the conversation. The structural pattern influences the argument in so far as the man's two introductory lines give him a platform from which to launch his attack. The woman, however, who broadly speaking has to defend her sexual virtue, is given the possiblity of rounding off the stanza and argument with a punch-line.

The main and very conventional concern of this poem is the question of the relationship between service and reward, a problem which here as in Walther's *Gnade, frowe! tuo also bescheidenliche* (L. 70,22) circles around the obligations of the woman. The first three stanzas of the song bring nothing more than an introduction; the man confesses his love and is angrily repulsed by the woman. But already the beginning of the third stanza names the central question:

Neina küniginne!
daz min dienest so iht si verloren! (MF 93,24-94,25)

The woman has from the beginning no real intention of answering this claim. Instead she enters into a cat-and-mouse game with her lover. Its attraction consists for the man as well as for the public in the mixture of playful coquetry and real involvement. The woman's final question of the stanza is a good example of her technique. Her feigned concern for the man which is underlined by the endearing address *vil lieber man* (MF 93,29) draws him closer to her while at the same time meaning to extract a compliment from him. The man's praise of her beauty, following directly, confirms exactly what the lady and the public had expected.

The rest of this fourth stanza returns in a balancing act to the assets of the man. It clearly identifies his Minnesang as a persuasive activity in the battle for sexual fulfilment. But although the woman feels moved by his *süezen doene* (MF 93,32) she reminds herself quickly of her position at court: *wert ich iuch, des hetet ir ere; so waer min der spot.* (MF 93,35). This remark is in the first instance just a reference to the conventional

theme of the *merkaere* or *huote*, as mentioned in the first line of the poem. It re-establishes what was disrupted there, that is to say the triangular relationship between the two lovers and the courtly community who are also the listeners, a point which Reinmar eventually makes into the topic of his poem *Sage, daz ich dirs iemer lone* (MF 177,10-177,39). But the most important observation for the understanding of the relationship is that the woman's statement not only expresses a familiar difference in the social evaluation of the lover's sexual role but also indicates a change in their private position. The woman has recognised the danger which the man's special ability poses to her, and is now better prepared to consciously resist it.

The following three stanzas basically repeat and vary the theme of the man's bargaining for his reward through his rhetorical powers. But the lady's early decision to resist her own weakness for his sweet words now sustains her resistance. This halt in the woman's action also induces a shift in the audience's enjoyment of the song. The initial interest in the outcome of the argument is replaced by the observation of its form. Here the woman again proves herself as outstanding not only because she carries away the eventual victory but also because she provides the public with the greater entertainment through her ability to find new and unexpected answers to basically the same question.

The fifth stanza gives a particularly skilful example of this ability. Irritated and hurt by the suspicion that the man might already be tiring of their relationship, the lady defends her resistance to the man's repeated demand for a quick reward with an ironic modification of the metaphor of the *strale* or *bolze* of love [57]. The image, which is normally associated with the lady's power to wound or capture her lover, is here linked to the man's use of words. His ability to influence her effectively with his speeches is scornfully belittled through the diminutive *wortel* (MF 93,39). Alarmed as well as probably puzzled by the lady's ill-humour the man has to seek reassurance. But the answer to the question about whether she welcomes his service and especially whether his "rede" moves or displeases her remains deliberately ambiguous [58].

In terms of the woman's two relationships, that which she has with her lover and that which she establishes with the public, this stanza produces differing and complex results. The implied doubt and criticism raises the tension in her battle with her suitor, and so keeps the argument alive. But on the other hand it also provides her with a further affirmation of

his willingness to dedicate himself to her love; he promises not only fine words but also *staete* (MF 94,3). In her other relationship, that which the protagonists form with the public, the woman also wins. The listener's sympathies for her are, however, not necessarily due to the demonstration of superiority. This creates a moment of particular enjoyment in this poem because this stanza opposes the man's rhetorical self-confidence to the woman's demonstrable ability to handle the language.

The final two stanzas, which lower the tension between the lovers but only in order to conclude the poem with a resounding victory for the woman, expand on the repetition of the man's demands. Almost exasperated by the woman's continued avoiding of the reward, the man becomes very direct. He not only points to his sufferings or his qualities, he just demands his wages for his *singen* and *dienest* (MF94,9-94,10). The specific mention of *singen* is a further indication that the man sees his poetic activity - as did his lady earlier on - as an integral part of his love-suit. But the woman proves once more her power towards both the public and her lover. Her answer inspires each with the tantalising hope that sexual fulfilment might still be granted. But in the end this is only another device in the game which the woman has been playing with her lover since the very beginning of their conversation. She sends him away with nothing but praise for his courtly education: *daz ir dest werder sint unde da bi hochgemuot.* (MF 94,14). This unexpected quick-witted use of the laws of courtly love, the literary existence of which is incidentally attested by this final remark, affects the public doubly. In the short term the woman's rebuff delights because it provides comic relief from the threat that an individual might achieve the special status of an accepted lover which many are unsuccessfully seeking; and it gives the listeners the pleasure of joining in with the woman's superior feeling of confidence and victory. But in a more general way her clever acceptance of love-service and its humorous exploitation, which includes *Minnesang* as an essential part, finds approval because it gives a demonstration of how the woman can keep the communal *fröide* alive without needing to compromise her sexual virtue, a dilemma on which Reinmar's song reflects.

The poem *Sage, daz ich dirs iemer lone* (MF 177,10-177,39) is not a Wechsel, but a Botenlied. It nevertheless wins a mention in this chapter because the song deliberates upon the question of *fröide* as it arises for the community from the dialogue between the lovers. The first three stanzas of the poem explore the topic through a conversation between the

woman and a man who is close to her lover. He reports and comments on the man's position. His relationship with the lady is characterised by self-confident independence. The messenger's particular independence seems to influence the relationship between the lovers in so far as it heightens the public's sense of the distance between the lovers and increases the woman's own awareness of her dilemma. This problem is especially clearly expressed in stanza two where the messenger warns the woman *Vrowe, nu verredent iuch niht* (MF 177,20).

Thematically the poem is again concerned with the function of *Minnesang* within the relationship. Although the woman acknowledges the poet and lover's singing as part of his courtship, she is very unsure about her own reaction to it, because her acceptance of his love-service would entitle him to a reward which she neither can nor wants to pay. This conventional deliberation is rendered more poignant by the addition of two reflective stanzas which follow the dialogue. The formal extension of the poem through stanzas four and five also implies an extension of the subject. The relationship is now situated in the lovers' social life. The connection between the two halves of the song is initially only indicated through the messenger's warning references to the general rules of conduct. Already anxious about her lover's considerations for her wishes the woman is in stanza three possibly further pained by the distance between herself and her lover which the messenger's answer seems to open up. The envoy makes it clear that the lovers do not communicate directly but relate to each other through other members of the community: *Ouch mugent irz wol han vernomen.* (MF 177,26). This line mentions the relationship between the lovers and their society for the first time. Having been made aware of the dangers facing her through the discussion with the messenger in the Abgesang of stanzas two and three, the woman now spells out her difficulties. Injustice towards the man might lose her his love, while commanding him to cease singing will deprive the whole court of its *fröide* and bring upon her the displeasure of everybody [59]. The rest of the poem therefore reflects upon the woman's desire to keep her sexual virtue without offending the laws of social decency. The most noteworthy thought within this reflection comes at the very end of the poem where the woman considers the question of *staete*; its abandonment is a sentiment too dangerous for either to give in to. It is indicative, however, of the essential difference between Reinmar's and Johansdorf's poems that the

female characters choose quite dissimilar ways of dealing with the challenge.

The woman in Albrecht von Johansdorf's poem feels confident but tempted; she successfully exploits her knowledge about her own feelings in order to play with the man. This ability to handle the conventions of courtly love humorously resembles strongly the relationship between the lady and her lover in Walther von der Vogelweide's poem *Frowe'n lat iuch niht verdriezen* (L. 85,34) [60]. There the woman also avoids sexually committing herself. She does this by wittily twisting the man's description and offer of a courtly love-relationship. This creates a very distinctive but in principle easy amusement which the public can enjoy without having to involve their own moral awareness.

Reinmar's poem, which admittedly does not exactly reproduce the same situation, as it is not a true Wechsel or dialogue, describes the woman as an anxious and insecure character with a quite different mind. Confronted with the same recognition of her social duty and possible personal temptation the woman does not deal with the problem through play but through analysis. The result is a dissimilar form of entertainment which commits the listeners to reflections about the strain placed upon the woman in their own community. In recognisably Reinmarian fashion the poem is intended to give that intellectual pleasure which comes from the awareness of an ethical problem. The commenting voice of the messenger who places the woman in a social environment plays an important role in the public's involvement in the argument. The poem, although it concentrates in its last stanza on the more private aspect of the problem of *staete*, does not really solve the dilemma. One might therefore speculate whether it was not, as perhaps also *Ich lebte ie nach der liute sage* (MF 152,25-152,34), intended to stimulate a fuller discussion about the problems of the *frouwe*.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DAWNSONG

In the courtly dawn-song the lovers achieve what they had sought in the Minnelied and dialogue-song. Under cover of darkness they find each other in order to spend a night together. But alerted to the dawn, often by the watchman on the castle-tower - who with his position on the boundary of the castle appears as the mediator between the lovers and courtly society - the lovers have to separate again. By convention, the dawn-song is a song of parting. This creates an interesting difference in the representation of the lovers' relationship towards each other as well as in the way the public responds to them. It involves a notable reversal in the protagonists' positions of power. While the *frouwe* of the dialogue-song could accept or reject her lover's service she is here, having granted this wish, in the dependent position. The parting signal is for the man the beginning of an active day, while she is left with nothing but the uncertain hope of his return.

The emotional and intellectual relationship with the public is also established differently. While the dialogue-song pleases and involves the audience through a witty discussion filled with the promise of sexual fulfilment, the dawn-song concentrates on its enactment in the present. This time-shift moves the listeners nearer to the action, but the form of the dawn-song, as an epic genre in which the audience are only spectators of an enacted drama rather than participants as in the courtly discussion, places a greater gulf between them and the protagonists.

As Dietmar Rieger has already convincingly argued the dissimilarities between the two genres do not mean that the dawn-song stands outside the system of courtly love [1]. Quite the opposite, it reaffirms it; because the lovers know and accept that their sexual love can only be realised when the *merkaere* or *huote* is asleep. The bright day-light forces them back into their courtly roles. Psychologically the dawn-song supports the endlessly unrequited love of the Minnelied and the dialogue-song. This demonstration of the possibility of fulfilment also makes it into a safety-valve through which the built-up erotic energy can be discharged [2].

Dietmar von Eist's *Slafest du, vriedel ziere* (MF 39, 18-39, 29) is the first and probably earliest example of a Middle High German dawn-song. The poem is surrounded by a number of critical questions concerning both its authorship and its dating [3]. Among the many arguments dealing with these difficult questions the only relevant observation for this study arises from the description of the song's stylistic form. Like the anonymous Provençal alba *En un vergier sotz fuella d'albespi* (P.-C. 461, 113) [4]

Dietmar's song shows a number of archaisms which link it with traditions which precede the courtly ethics and style. Particularly significant details within the discussion which associates Dietmar's tageliet with the folk-song are the apostrophes *vriedel* (MF 39,18) and *kint* (MF 39,23). These connections persist in varying formulae throughout the poem and have been carefully listed by Alois Wolf [5], who has also concerned himself with the possible metrical connection between the rhymes in the Provençal alba and the earlier epic [6]. Whether these references to folk-song were intended or accidental, or whether they must be regarded as the imitations of a later poet, so far eludes us entirely.

What on the other hand remains important is that the representation of the relationship and in particular the description of the woman's position oscillates between the earlier Frauenklage and the expected courtly situation. But although the Provençal alba and Dietmar's dawn-song share prominent structural characteristics, they arrive at different effects. This follows in each case directly from the divergence in the erotic energy of their female protagonists.

Dietmar von Eist's short poem, although not entirely clear in its introductory lines, firmly places the lovers in the context of the courtly situation as well as identifying them for the public as protagonists of a dawn-song. The woman speaks first, and that in itself concentrates the listeners' attention upon her. She has heard the signs of the morning - and here the MS presents the critic with an insoluble textual problem which is only relevant in so far as it is certain that the watchman does not appear as a protagonist. If he is at all hinted at in the second line, then he has no significant part to play [7]. It is left to the woman to describe the signs of the approaching morning to wake her lover. Although the woman clearly regrets the impending parting and says so - *wan wecket uns leider schiere* - she also causes the listener to delight in the description of the beauty of the rising morning [8]. This mixture of pleasure and pain engages the public's sympathy. This sense of her naïvety which is coupled with an awareness of her vulnerable sensitivity is further underlined through her tender apostrophe *vriedel ziere* (MF 39,18).

The man's answer gives a first real impression of the fusion of the two styles. His two introductory lines preserve that unaffected and intimate tenderness which one might associate with the simple folk-song. But the second couplet moves then to a more formal diction which sets a degree of courtly distance between the partners. This change in register is evident

in the two addresses; in line two the man lovingly calls his beloved *kint*, while in the final line he uses the more respectful though still affectionate formula *vriundin min* [9].

This second stanza not only gives a hint of the two layers of expression, but more importantly, and this plays a significant role in the comparison with the Provençal alba, it is indicative of the lovers' social context. Firstly and most prominently the lovers' meeting is not represented as a necessarily illicit one which offends the ethical code of their society. Instead the poem just makes a practical division between the night and the day. One is private time, the other because of the association with the call to arms (MF 39,23) belongs to fighting for the lord and the feudal community, which in a broader sense is, of course, also the social group which eventually developed the code of courtly love.

Within this system the man is supposed to submit himself to his *frouwe*; and this is exactly what happens here, although in a simpler form. The woman is the centre of the man's attention, he heeds her admonition and reinforces it with a near-proverbial phrase. In a climactic structure his final line then spells out his willingness to be her obedient servant. The artistic effect of this affirmation of the woman's words is to focus the spotlight firmly on her, although the man is the speaker of the stanza.

The third and last stanza begins with a narrative line, the only one in this poem, which otherwise takes the form of a dialogue. The time of awaking is now over and the lovers must part. Significantly for this genre the audience learns only of the woman's reaction to the parting. Her tension, built up through the mingling of passion and the fear of the loss of her love, discharges itself in tears. She is afraid of the impending loneliness and especially of sexual deprivation, as the term *vroïde* (MF 39,29) testifies [10]. The interpolated entreaty for the knight's speedy return, *wenne wilt du wider her zuo mir*, is not only emotionally touching but also reminds the listeners of the connection between the *tageliet* and the often erotically explicit Frauenklage [11].

The position of the woman in the Provençal alba *En un vergier sotz fuella d'albespi* (P.-C. 461,113) differs from the German example in two important ways. Both are linked to the relationship between the woman and society. While the first is expressed through the form of the poem, the second is more obviously revealed in the woman's own attitude to her social group.

This six-stanza poem does not embody a conversation but is a woman's song framed by a narrative stanza at the beginning and at the end [12]. The

narrative influences the listener's reception of the woman's account of her love in so far as it places it in a particular social context. As in Dietmar's poem the audience is introduced to the setting of a dawn-song and through it develops those expectations which are appropriate for this genre. The naming of the watchman make these anticipations even more precise because he figures here as the representative of courtly order. It is his task to remind the lovers of the anti-social nature of their illicit meeting.

The middle stanzas (II-V) represent, in opposition to the German example, a challenge to this social order. The lady is married, and she invites the man to a love-making *en despieg del gilos* (III, 3), a formula which is reminiscent of another form of Frauenklage, the song of the *mal-marida* [13]. The awakening natural surroundings are not interpreted as an indication of time but are exploited spatially; they give the lovers a place for their love-making. The couple is therefore not looking through the branches back at organised society but away from it. The expanse of the meadows seems to promise free room.

The erotic element, which in the German poem remains repressed and only properly features in the parting formula of the third stanza, is far more open and precise in *En un vergier sotz fuella d'albespi*. Stanzas three and four both carry in their first line an invitation to the expression of sexual love. Significantly the degree of intimacy increases from stanza three, which only speaks of kisses, to stanza four where the phrase *un joc novel* implies the whole of the sexual act.

The following fifth stanza moves from the present tense to the past. The woman hints at the memory of love-making through the not uncommon metaphor of the "sweet air" or " breath" which flows from the beloved person [14]. The erotic content of the image is intensified by the treatment of this "air" as a liquid from which the woman has drunk; the experience of sexual love is to the woman like the refreshment gained from a sweet fountain. But the rather strange liquid quality of the lover's *dous ray* (V, 1), his breath, has also with its life-creating ability an erotically more specific sense. It implies by analogy the semen which gives life to the woman because of the love which she receives with it.

The purpose of the comparison here is to draw attention to the differences between the two poems and thereby to illustrate the variation in the roles which the woman can play in this genre. The dissimilarities between the two female figures stem, as already stated above, from their

differing degrees of self-confidence. The woman in Dietmar's poem feels passionately but submits to the social norm while her Romance counterpart challenges both the society and her lover with her explicit invitation to love-making. This diversity in the treatment of the woman means for the audience that each of the dawn-songs gives a different kind of enjoyment. The German poem plays on the pain of the parting while the Provençal alba dwells on the pleasures of the meeting.

The final narrative stanza of *En un vergier sotz fuella d'albespi*, which expounds in very conventional terms the courtly virtue of the lady, emphasises therefore what has become clear throughout the discussion of the poem, that this is an elaborate courtly song with certain elements still akin to a more popular tradition. In contrast, the evaluation of the German poem gives the opposite impression. It still has the overall simplicity of the folk-song, but already shows some courtly overtones.

From here it is also possible to guess at the form of entertainment both songs were meant to give. The Romance work was designed for a sophisticated courtly audience which enjoyed sexually explicit paraphrases [15]. The German example on the other hand plays on the audience's feelings. The description of the beauty of the morning mingled with the lovers' naïve expression of their pain at parting demands the emotional response of joy and pity rather than giving the cerebral pleasure of courtly amusement. The formal narrative frame of the Provençal song which puts a distance between the woman and her public makes such an emotional participation far less likely. The pleasure procured is therefore more obviously on the intellectual level and does not in the same way as Dietmar's simple *tageliet* aim at giving relief from inner tensions.

The distance in evolution between Dietmar's dawnsong and Heinrich von Morungen's Tagelied-Wechsel *Owe - /Sol aber mir iemer me* (MF 143,22-144,27) is immense. The progress in artistic development is evident first and foremost in the poet's confident handling of the formal and stylistic elements. Here as in the argument between the lovers the sensation of a mirror-effect plays a paramount role. As is not uncommon for the dawn-song each stanza ends with a refrain, *do tagte ez*, and it is also introduced with a refrain-like exclamation *owe*. These two refrains which frame the stanzas' arguments and give each unit its particular shape also give a sense of progression in so far as the introductory *owe* is simultaneously the response to the preceding *do tagte ez*. The repetition of this structural

pattern over the whole poem creates the effect of a simple and repeated round [16] while at the same time stressing the audience's sensation of the sophisticated and much discussed imagery of light and its reflections. This very difficult combination of two forms of expression is in itself proof of the measure of artistic advancement which lies between the dawn-songs of Dietmar and Morungen.

But despite the dissimilarities between the two works, which will become even more obvious in the detailed discussion of the poem under consideration, Morungen's and Dietmar's dawn-songs share one important characteristic: both songs concentrate on the exploration of the figure of the woman. The first stanza of *Owe - /Sol aber mir iemer me* straightaway captures the public's full attention because of the man's enthusiastic account of his love-experience. But he inspires the listeners not so much with the description of his own sexual excitement as with his admiration for his beloved's faultless beauty. The man's passionate praise of the lady focuses the listener's imagination largely upon her. The third stanza which is again spoken by the man has a similar effect. In it he narrates the woman's tearful reaction to day-break and the expression of love to which he can stimulate her with his consolation. The woman's own two stanzas, like the man's, also concentrate on the impresssion which she can make on the lover. This is, of course, particularly true of her last stanza. But her first appearance in stanza two, which in principle has the function of indicating the removal of the experience of love into the remembered past, emphasises the woman's depression through an account of the man's pain at the moment of his separation from his beloved. His grief is, however, only interesting as a further means to centre the song upon the woman.

Her prominence in the poem not only originates from the fact that she is eventually the subject of each stanza, but is further added to by the effect which one must assume her presence had on the audience's erotic imagination.

As the stimulation of the public's erotic fantasy was one of the main functions of the objective genres it seems useful to retrace the audience's participation in the lovers' erotic relationship as represented in the three dawn-songs [17]. The two early examples both exploit one aspect of the given possibilities. The Romance song is sexually fairly explicit but through the framing of the stanzas puts barriers between the two relationships, that of the lovers and that which the lovers have with the

public. The erotic imagination is stimulated but the love-relationship is placed at a distance. Dietmar von Eist's poem, on the other hand, offers close emotional involvement with the lovers but is erotically unexciting. The synthesis of these two possibilities is finally attempted by Heinrich von Morungen in his dawn-song. Here the public is drawn into the relationship because the Wechsel format of this poem means that the lovers instead of addressing each other recount their experience for the public. The audience become the real recipients of each stanza. The additional removal of the experience into the remembered past gives the listeners a chance to be closely involved with the protagonists without a sensation of embarrassment, a fact which Peter Wapnewski has already described : "Das allzu Private, das allzu Direkte des sinnlichen Sujets wird durch das Formenprinzip neutralisiert, das mehr Geist denn Fleisch ist." [18]. This combination of restrained Wechsel and openly erotic dawn-song achieves emotional and cerebral entertainment simultaneously.

In this poem the importance of the lovers' sexual experience is set off by the deliberate confusion of two time-schemes. The two outer stanzas, which through their explicit description of the love-making evoke the night-time, are permeated with metaphors of light and brightness. The woman's central influence is given further weight through her lover's discovery of her nakedness as the source of his light. The unexpected association between the woman's radiant beauty and the darkness of the night is impressive, but it also involves the listeners emotionally because the man's overwhelming passion, which even asserts the reversal of the natural laws, demands their sympathy. The two inner stanzas concern themselves with the parting of the lovers at day-time, but here the light of the day is clouded by the woman's tears. However, the structure of the poem does not leave the listeners with a picture of unhappiness as in Dietmar von Eist's song but leads their thoughts back to the description of the pleasure of the possession of this woman.

The second stanza therefore, after an account of the striking qualities of the woman in the previous stanza, starts with her lament at the loss of these delights. Her depressed mood only brightens up at the end of the stanza with a return of the memory of this meeting. The third stanza, in which the man continues with the narration of the woman's grief at the moment of awakening, bears substantial similarities to the second stanza of Dietmar von Eist's poem. But instead of leading to a separation as in the earlier poem this song ends with a return to the love-making. Because of

the metaphorical closeness between the first and the last stanza it is not entirely clear whether the latter merely describes a return to the memory of a single love-making or whether it means a second love-experience which grows out of the awareness of the impending separation. This ambiguity is certainly intentional and therefore also functional. For the public the return to the woman's erotic success leads, in so far as the pain of the parting recedes into the background, to a sustantial shift in the experience of the love-relationship. They are invited to perceive the woman in a position of safety. She neither needs to lament her abandonment nor is she obliged to entice the man into the pleasures of a sexual union. But what makes the character of the woman even more attractive is that despite her success she remains modest and almost naïve. This gives the public a chance to dwell on the pleasurable topic of erotic love without being provoked into feelings of envy or disapproval. The public's good-will and even the hope which is generated by their liking for the woman is final proof of her central position in this song which puts her almost on a par with the courtly *frouwe* of the Minnelied.

The distribution of the lovers' roles and their relationship to the paradigm of the courtly Minnelied produces an even more complex picture in Reinmar's song *So es iener nahet deme tage* (MF 154,32-156,9). The problem is further added to by textual uncertainties relating to the song's five-stanza form. This difficulty arises from two interrelated problems of manuscript transmission which can be summarised by saying that there seem to be two extant versions of the work [19]. One only occurs in MS E and unfortunately, despite its arguably higher artistic value, does not qualify for an analysis in this study as it is entirely given to the man; another version has, except in MS B, as its last stanza a woman's stanza. Concerning this latter version serious doubts have been formulated about the relationship between the first three stanzas and the following two. There can, of course, be no conclusive proof that the last two stanzas were intended for this poem, but since they are concerned with the theme of meeting and parting the following discussion will attempt to make out a case for the possiblity of their being accepted as an integral part of the poem.

Although Reinmar's *tageliet* belongs into the earliest group of transmitted examples of this genre, since Albrecht Hagenlocher's excellent and diligent study of this poem it can no longer be doubted that it

represents a sophisticated variation of the dawn-song model [20]. Here Reinmar uses the formal and emotional elements of this genre to illustrate his own lyric persona as a unrequited lover [21]. The man's account of the love-relationship therefore bears all the characteristics of a courtly Minneklage. But the combination of the formal elements of the dawn-song, which Wolfgang Mohr has detected, with the situation of the disappointed courtly lover introduces an interesting and unexpected conflict of roles into the dawn-song [22]. It is normally the woman who is left to fear and lament her abandonment, yet here this is the man's position. In stanza one he refers not to the inevitability of parting but to the impossiblity of a meeting:

diz machet mir diu swaere klage,
daz mir ze helfe nieman komen mac. (MF 154,35-154,36) [23].

The following lines then mention the memory of happier times, but leave it open whether this former contentment came from a greater fulfilment of love or much more plausibly from simply not yet being in love. What is certainly made clear is that however dedicated he is, nothing can entice his lady to come and be with him. The stimulation of the public's erotic imagination which goes together with the genre of the dawn-song results from the reminder of the possibility of love-making; the fulfilment of this potential is, however, doubly negated in this song which not only states that the lover's night-time is empty but also proclaims that he feels no difference between summer and winter. Neither season promises to bring him the satisfactions of love. As the stanza proceeds the fear of impending loneliness, so characteristic of the woman in the dawn-song, is replaced by the man's certain knowledge of his isolation.

The second stanza develops the theme of the man's solitude further by comparing his situation to that of the loving couple as described in the dawn-song. The theme of the distance between the lovers, which the first stanza had already touched on, is brought to the foreground by the protagonist's thoughts about the time beyond the parting. He laments that the woman will be saddened by his absence. The subsequent assurance of his steadfast love, to which he adheres despite his lady's constant indifference, allows an interesting comparison between the sexual tensions generated by the two situations. In the dawn-song erotic passion is associated with a specific time, that of the night before the parting. No assurances can or will be given about the future, indeed it is the very fear of loss which in many poems heightens the sexual tension and brings

about a renewed expression of the desire for physical closeness at the moment of day-break. Erotic intensity therefore has a direct relationship to the possibility of change and even unfaithfulness. The lover in Reinmar's poem provokes, however, no erotic tension with his dedicated and steadfast service. The reponse which the stanza demands is, as may be expected with Reinmar, not on the level of emotional involvement but relates to the more complicated formal questions of the poem's use of the elements of the dawn-song. His own conception of the courtly love-relationship which idealises the woman as a severe *frouwe* does not lend itself to the representation of that personal sexual union which stands at the centre of the *tageliet*.

The inversion of the dawn-song elements comes to a climax in the third stanza which Hagenlocher rightly regards as the artistic centre of the poem [24]. In its Aufgesang the man blames Love's injustice for his disproportionate suffering. Its cruel whim, which influences the lover's fate from the outside, can to a certain extent be compared with the day-time world of the dawn-song. Both deprive the lovers of their potential pleasure. But while for the man of this poem the pleasure and the risks only exist on an imaginary level, the protagonists of the dawn-song are faced with more tangible dangers. If their relationship, which is if not adulterous certainly illicit, is carried on into the day-time they face punishment [25]. In terms of the artistic game with the underlying prototype the opening of the stanza is therefore further proof that Reinmar does not lay his main emphasis on the stimulation of the erotic imagination, which is after all enlivened by the frisson of danger, but that he is mostly interested in the dialectics of the genre.

The following three lines (5-7) cleverly refer back to the similar middle lines of the previous stanza, each making the accusation against the woman more concrete. The development of the argument runs from the memory of happier times through the more explicit complaint of being unloved, to the very precise charge of faithless indifference and downright uncaringness. The contrast between the pleasures of the successful love-relationship and the harshness of the social world which is the backbone of the dawn-song is now drawn into the representation of the relationship itself. The man portrays the principle of pleasure while his *frouwe* becomes his enemy. The division of the lovers' sexual roles into two opposed parties extends the complicated game with the expectations of the dawn-song. The man never comes to enjoy the pleasures which he claims to be standing for, while his

cruel beloved, who thrives in the public sphere of the court, is bright and full of joy. Furthermore this reallocation of energies within the relationship means that the man is represented as a passive character, who can only hope for improvement without being able to bring it about. This passivity indicates a further reversal of the protagonists' sexual roles, because in the dawn-song it is usually the woman who during the day is left in suspended animation. All she can do is long for her lover who in the meantime pursues an active life. The references to time in the final couplet of the stanza are exactly chosen to underline and clarify the comparison between these two situations.

The last two stanzas both pose individual problems in respect to their coherence within this particular poem. Stanza four which is missing in MS A contributes nothing to the argument about the love-relationship. It is rather more a final evaluation of the man's fate. In it he measures his efforts against their recognition by the world as well as the lady. The resulting balance of his observation is overall a negative one. He has resigned himself to the injustice of not being believed by his lady, but as a true courtly lover, to whom service means more than success, he promises to remain faithful even though the future holds out no change. In the man's final stanza the song progresses from lament over the lady's indifference, as represented by the anti-dawn-song of the first three stanzas, into a Minneklage proper. The main reason for this stems from the delineation of the development of time. While the dawn-song is marked by transience the inner momentum of this poem comes to a halt with the climax of the third stanza, and the permanence of the courtly situation with its emphasis on unrequited love takes over. This also means a change in the stanza's purpose, in so far as the representation of sexual fufilment and through it the stimulation of erotic imagination is abandoned. Instead the poet dwells on the pleasures of longing. The problems of parting have given rise to the imagining of an impossible meeting in a distant future. In terms of the desired artistic variation it means that the poet has created an almost circular structure of thought.

The concluding stanza, which is the only woman's stanza, has a small but significant part to play in this poem. It relates to the man's account of the love-relationship not through a continuation of the story-line, but through its concern with the theme of parting and meeting. A coming together can bring restoration while distance from the lover means depression and ill-health. This characteristic becomes particularly

evident in the second half of the stanza, where the woman contrasts the healing force of the lover's presence with the suffering brought about by his absence. Her eyes have gone red from crying, and she feels her life leaving her. This very physical description of the woman's distress, which is not uncommon in Reinmar's poetry or the Minnesang as a whole, has first of all the effect of engaging the public's sympathy for the woman. But as the woman's own appearance as a vulnerable human being stands in such contrast to the man's description of his courtly *frouwe*, it also compels the listeners to feel a sense of confusion. Although many medieval poems are not organised according to a strict logical plan, it can be recognised that here the division of the poem into two halves is not merely accidental but has a function. The woman's stanza is a further element in Reinmar's sophisticated scheme of variation which plays both with the protagonists and with the public. The first three stanzas of the song offer the audience an intellectual game which focuses around the inverted theme of a parting. After its climax in stanza three the fourth stanza adds a calmer variation of this topic and with it returns to the longing for a meeting. The subsequent woman's stanza dwells on the very same desire. She describes her hope for a coming together with such physical anguish that it becomes clear that the purpose of this stanza lies not in the listeners' intellectual entertainment but in their emotional involvement. The public's sympathy for the woman is such that in a peculiar displacement of the relationship the listeners come closer to her than her lover probably ever will. The shift from concentrated intellectual participation to emotional involvement means that the woman's stanza redresses the balance. It finally offers that form of entertainment which an audience wants from an 'objectve' song.

But although this last stanza plays with the elements of the dawn-song and provides a degree of emotional liberation from the restraint of the courtly representation of the woman, it lacks, as does most of the poem, the main characteristic of the dawn-song, and that is the stimulation of that erotic imagination which is associated with the representation of a successfully fulfilled love-relationship. The reasons for this essential transformation of the prototype lie, as they do in Walther's *Gnade, frouwe, mir also bescheidenliche*, with the author's projection of himself as a love-poet. In their true complication they go beyond the limits of this study, but their effect on the dawn-song is to demonstrate its full and in a sense final integration into the system of courtly poetry. After Reinmar

the genre must and does branch out into a new system of diversions, one which is based on the relationship between the couple and the watchman.

But before a proper study of this new possibility can be undertaken we have to concern ourselves with one other contemporary dawn-song, that of Walther von der Vogelweide. The critical discussion of *Friuntlichen lac* (L. 88, 9) [26] has as in Reinmar's case focused upon the variation of the dawn-song form and its influence upon the representation of the love-relationship. The poem, which is the only known example of this genre written by this great master of love-poetry and of subtle play with erotic variations, occurs in MSS A and C. The song consists of seven twelve-line stanzas which through their complicated rhyming scheme (a b (x) d d a (x) c (x) b) suggest a continuous follow-up of thought, but in actual fact each stanza is divided into two symmetrical halves. Apart from the two framing stanzas, which combine a narrative description with a woman's speech, each stanza begins with four lines spoken by the man. These are immediately answered by his beloved lady. It is symptomatic of the formal complications of this poem that the man's speech, although beginning the stanza, is not an introduction to a new thought but represents each time a reaction to the woman's ideas in the previous stanza. This shift occurs because the woman is the first - and eventually also the last - speaker of the poem. Her formal predominance ought to produce an interesting tension with her dependent position within the love-relationship. But unfortunately this song poses grave problems in the evaluation of its content. The difficulty results from the apparently inferior artistic quality of the poem which has been remarked upon by a fair number of critics [27]. To bring our high expectations of Walther's poetic art in line with what is perceived as an over-long and repetitive song two attractive proposals have been made. Alois Wolf [28], following a suggestion by Theodor Frings [29], comprehends this dawn-song as a sophisticated interlocking of the Provençal *tenzone* with the *tageliet*, while John A. Asher interprets it as a parody on the genre of the dawn-song [30].

The problem with any comparison with the Romance genre is that the *tenzone* encompasses a wide spectrum of topics which in turn shape the form of the conversation. The best definition of this poetic form has been given by Erich Köhler whose account, unlike that given in the medieval *leys d'amour* [31], not only considers the form which the debate takes but also

attempts to understand its underlying purpose [32]. According to this critic the *tenzone*, once distinguished from the *partimen*, can be divided into two strands (with, of course, the odd exception):

> "Er [der zur Tenzone im engeren Sinne gewordene Jongleurstreit oder abwechselnde Preisgesang] erhält entweder so deutlich den Character des Partimen, daß er diesem zuzurechnen ist, oder er wird als Überströmung bei den nicht den Rang des höfischen Trobadors anstrebenden Jongleurs im alten Sinne fortgesetzt, wobei das Element der Schmähung immer breiteren Raum einnimmt. Demgegenüber haben die verhaltnismäßig wenigen Beispiele, die von anspruchsvolleren Dichtern stammen, zumeist sehr ernst genommene Fragen des Dichtens und der Liebe zum Inhalt." [33]

The *tenzone* therefore either offers the public a competition of wit between two jongleurs from which mutual slander and strong language are not excluded, or explores the more demanding issues of the individual's ethical code within the social environment of the court, a set of problems which is more generally summarised under the concept of *cortezia/ hövescheit*.

Walthers dawn-song very obviously does not bear any characteristics of the first category, as the lovers are in no way competing with each other nor are they rivals in a battle of wits. Equally, the form and intention of the lovers' arguments cannot, despite the woman's description of it as a *strit* [34], be truly likened to the serious *tenzone*. Firstly the lovers are not in any way opposed to each other, on the contrary they expressly form a unit against the *huote* [35]; secondly and even more importantly the woman's opposition at the beginning of the song does not spring from her intention to discuss or clarify her position as a loving individual within a social group but is entirely attributable to her role as a character in a dawn-song. The object of her argument is not analytical but serves the representation of her feelings. Moreover the conversation does not adhere to the principle of a systematically and logically structured exploration of ideas but ambles along by free association. This feature which is mainly responsible for the critical assessment of the relationship as a repetitive, almost aimlessly drifting exchange of ideas becomes particularly evident through a study of the time scheme employed between stanzas II-IV. The man's unexpected divergence in stanza II from the present time to a long-term view of the relationship, leads the woman not only, as he has suggested, to remember the past but also to consider the future. She urges the man, as is not unusual in the dawn-song, to return

quickly to her [36]. Again the man does not give a brisk and unequivocal answer which would drive the argument forward. Instead he allows himself the time to exploit rather cumbersomely the association between the mention of the future and the possibility of being hindered from returning within the space of twelve hours. The diversion of the listeners' attention away from the immediate dangers of discovery to potential future difficulties has the unfortunate effect of diffusing the dramatic and erotic tension of this passage. Psychologically this involves the risk of confusing the public's perception of the lovers' problem.

A final important objection to an interpretation of this song as belonging to the category of analytical rather than epic genres is, as this passage shows, the fact that the argument is not only dramatically enacted but that the lovers themselves are subjected to the passing of time.

There still remains the possible view that the woman's willingness to keep her lover talking can, despite its overall lack of clarity and ethical purpose, be compared to the argumentative process of the *tenzone*. But a close reading of the text shows that the poem has only one stanza where it comes to a genuine disagreement between the lovers, and that is in stanza two. Here the woman rebukes the knight for his haste. Even then the opposition is rather a statement of her own grief than an argument with her lover. All the following exchanges actually have a remarkable degree of thematic unity which, as the song unfolds, gives an increasing impression of an echo-effect. From stanza three to the end of the protagonists' conversation each stanza introduces a key-idea which is taken up and spun out in the partner's answer. An example of this technique is evident in stanza three where the man introduces with his reminder of past situations the idea of a widening of the perspective of their relationship. The woman responds to this proposition by turning her attention to the future. She urges the man to return quickly to her. The lover's rather pedantic answer echoes the woman's fear of possible problems. His explanation, which lays stress upon the theme of separation, then initiates a further exchange of ideas, this time circling around his topic. The woman, now satisfied with the man's sincerity, must finally consent to his leave. Her speech therefore ends with the admission:

Owe der ougenweide!
nu kius ich den tac. (L. 89, 17-89, 18)

The following two stanzas appear in both MSS in reverse order, and for reasons of their inner logic which will be supported below, it seems better

to follow their manuscript transmission. In stanza six which now becomes number five the man adds his description of the rising morning to the woman's bare observation:

der wahtaer diu tageliet
so lute erhaben hat. (L. 89,35-89,36)

The woman closes the discusion by invoking God's blessing upon her lover. Seen in this way the last stanza no longer appears as a discussion but as a duet in which both lovers agree in deploring the pain of their parting.

The echo-theory is further supported by the fact that the protagonists undergo no substantial development in their relationship. The woman is encased in her traditional plaintive role, and each time she speaks she only repeats her grief without any particular intensification of it. She thus becomes an echo of herself. The man's role seems to be fixed between that of a compliant lover and a reasonable adviser. After the firm establishment of their roles the protagonists only appear to reiterate their positions and with this to create the impression of an equilibrium.

The argument against linking this dawn-song with the *tenzone* can therefore be summarised in two main points, one concerning the relationship of the lovers to each other, the second deriving from the understanding of the form and purpose of their debate. The partners of this dialogue do not appear as adversaries in a demonstration of their wit. Instead they form from the beginning a pair who in the course of the poem come to an increasing degree of agreement. Their formally symmetrical exchange of views does not serve the exploration of ethical or social problems of their situation but is merely the representation of their feelings. This account of their emotions appeals to the public's inner identification with the protagonists but does not satisfy their desire for ethical understanding. The discussion, especially because of the woman's repeated lament, is in its form more akin to the German Wechsel than the *tenzone*.

While Alois Wolf's proposition called for a close analysis of the relationship between the lovers, John A. Asher's focuses more obviously upon the public's reponse to this relationship. His interpretation of the song as a parody, although interesting, suffers from the methodological problem of lack of evidence, especially as the argument relies to a good extent on the assumed but unattestable parodic performance of the song [37]. His hypothesis that the long-winded conversation between the two lovers who speak about their parting but repeatedly delay it with uneventful observations was intended to ridicule the genre as a whole would

only make sense if a fairly large corpus of poems with uniform characteristics existed. Neither the German nor the Romance manuscripts transmit enough examples of this genre before the first third of the 13th century to establish a general or specific model which could have served Walther as an example for his parody [38].

But the one feature which is constitutive and distinctive in all dawn-songs and to which Asher pays no special attention is the stimulation of the erotic imagination. Its total absence in *Friuntlichen lac* is the most important and most curious deficiency of the poem, especially as Walther is in other places a master of eroticism. It suffices here to name *Unter der linden* (L. 39,11) where the refrain *tandaradei* breaks up the narrative in order to give space to the imagination. In most dawn-songs, and obviously in particular in those which still show elements of the older Frauenklage, it is the woman who initiates the erotic tension. In Walther's dawn-song it is the man who prevents it from developing. The reasons for this lie not only in the often criticised loquaciousness of the lovers but more importantly in the man's double role, already mentioned, as a reasonable adviser and lover. In the latter role he urges the woman several times to agree to a parting but each time, instead of driving the development of the relationship on, he then acquiesces and stays a little longer, as happens in stanza three and five. Additionally to the man's stop-go tactics the introduction of a long-term view of the relationship also detracts from the possibility of erotic intensity. The public finds itself reminded of a rather domestic relationship which forshadows Ulrich von Liechtenstein's solution of the dawn-song. In his *tageliet* the lady hides her lover in the wardrobe from where he is safely available for further pleasures.

Unfortunately Walter's song seems to offer neither a comic nor a parodic dissolution of tension. Indeed the drama never gets under way, and so while one might imagine the audience liking the characters, it is hard to retrace any real excitement. But unless one assumes that this song was a mishit by an exceptionally gifted poet, it follows that our present understanding of the relationship between the courtly audiences and contemporary lyrics is still too incomplete to solve the riddle of the function of Walther's dawn-song.

There are, however, several other dawn-songs transmitted from around the same time or shortly after which develop and clarify the relationships within this genre. Amongst these Ulrich von Singenberg's *Swer minnecliche*

minne illustrates most usefully one of the next logical though not necessarily chronological steps in the evolution of this kind of poem [39]. The main differences between this song and earlier examples of the genre is the introduction of the figure of a watchman. In addition to this important transformation of the set-up, the Truchseß von St. Gallen also dissolves the stanza as the unit for the protagonists' speeches, and thereby widens the gap between the dawn-song and the Wechsel [40].

In Singenberg's poem the function of the watchman, who addresses the public in the introductory stanza without here or later entering into a relationship with the lovers themselves, goes beyond that of the simple guardian of time and peace. He mediates between the lovers and their society by reinterpreting the notion that an early and speedy separation is ethically and practically the right course of action. His recommendation

..., swaz man wil übertriben
daz da daz wol vil lihte am ende wirt ein we. (Lines 8-9)

alters and narrows the central courtly principle of *maze* in such a way that it no longer appears as a concept of highest courtly perfection but as a measure of prudence to which the lovers must submit in order to continue their illicit relationship safely. The truth is replaced by its appearance. This removal of the general prohibition of the fulfilment of a sexual relationship not only shapes the audience's attitude towards the lovers but also defines the nature of those tensions which are at the heart of this song.

The dialogue between the lovers follows over the next four stanzas. It appears entirely separate from the first stanza in so far as it nowhere refers expressly back to its protagonist. But this does not imply a division between the watchman's address to the public and the protagonists' dialogue with each other, because the two parts are in actual fact linked through the continuation of the theme of *maze*. The woman, whose first speech follows directly after the watchman's warning, returns to this very topic. She contrasts her own erotic desire, which is like an elemental force and which inspires her with the strength to live, with the well-tempered and educational passion imbued by a courtly love-relationship. Unlike the courtly *frouwe*, as the protagonist of a dawn-song which has physical closeness as its subject, she will not be able to survive long if separated from her lover.

The next six lines, representing the bulk of stanza three, are not clearly attributed to either of the protagonists. Formally one would

expect them to be the man's answer, but their content and especially the reference to a possible accident or mishap in line 21 seem to indicate that this is probably the continuation of the woman's speech. If this is so the woman not only has a stronger presence in the poem through the sheer quantity of her speeches, but her passionate affirmation of undying love also builds a bridge to the Frauenklage which is so important an element in the earlier dawn-song. In Singenberg's *tageliet* the lament does not, however, fade away unheard. The balance is redressed by the love-making which stands almost in the mathematical middle of the song. Its three-line description is noteworthy in so far as it combines the description of sexual fulfilment with the concept of propriety.* The specific distinction which the poem proposes as to what can be publicly said and what must be removed into the sphere of private imagination curtails the audience's ability to retrace the lovers' experience through identification with them. The difficulty, which is closely connected with the erotic suggestiveness of the phrase *da sol man nach gedenken unde niht gesehen* (line 27), is best illustrated by a comparison with Walther's "tandaradei" [41]. The two situations and their representation share as a main characteristic the poet's refusal to give a detailed account of the intimacy of the love-making. But where Walther leaves with his "tandaradei" a tantalising blank in an otherwise physically specific evocation of love-making, his "disciple" Ulrich von Singenberg uses the somewhat clumsier device of explaining to his public the inappropriateness of an intimate description. The cerebral handling of the erotic situation creates such an awareness of distance between the lovers and the public that the listener's imagination is inhibited rather than stimulated.

This physical demonstration of the man's love is then underlined by verbal affirmations of his attachment. Although the second half of the poem has to return to the subject of the lovers' impending separation, it mainly focuses upon their commitment to a firm and lasting relationship. Their shared belief in the possibility of such closeness is expressed through the repetition of certain key-terms:

Sol ich nu von dir <u>scheiden</u>
so muoz doch <u>ungescheiden</u> sein
<u>getriuwes</u> herzen <u>triuwe</u>, der ich han gepflegen
gen dir, sit minne uns beiden
gesellecliche liebe erwarp. (lines 28-32) [42]

The woman's confirmation of an equally committed desire for closeness is

underlined by the same kind of echoing repetions:

so han ich alles trostes mich an dich bewegen:

mich kan niht wan din eines trost getroesten [43].

In the final two lines of her Abgesang she returns, as is proper for this genre, to the dangers brought about by a separation. It is significant for the moral tone of this poem that the woman feels it necessary to remind the man that his possible unfaithfulness would not only cause her inner pain but that it would also have an important impact on her social standing. Her position as a courtly *frouwe* who enjoys the admiration and respect of the community could be jeopardized if he were indiscreet.

For the evaluation of the relationship which the poet establishes between the characters of the song and its audience, it is crucial to pay attention to the content as well as the form of the woman's statement. Her otherwise rather conventional fear of a parting is again clad in a near-proverbial phrase which seems to further stress the poet's interest in the representation of accepted propriety. This concern for a world in which the sexual relationship has a safe and well-established place is suitably continued by the man in his final stanza, which repeats his assurance of committed love. But although the strength of his dedication is expressed through the humanly touching image that the man weighs his beloved's love and life higher than his own, it does not produce or inspire the same intensity and passion as those dawn-songs in which the lovers find themselves in defiance of the social code. The protagonists have overcome their main anxiety and so have reached the cosy knowledge that their relationship will continue in some future night. At this point the poem returns to that notion of prudence first suggested by the watchman in his introductory stanza. The lovers have heeded his advice, and the agreement between the watchman and the couple is indicated in the last line by the woman's taking up of his role. She herself has become the keeper of time and social propriety and as such she releases the man from her company with a hearty *wol uf, est tac!* (line 45).

The pleasure of this relationship for both the couple and the public lies therefore not in its drama but in the possibility of its unending repetition; in this respect it resembles the musical form of the rondeau [44]. The unity of the rhetorical form of the poem, in which the play on repeated words emphasises the rhythm of the statements, and that of the overall pattern, finally become visible. The reprise of the relationship and therefore also of the song is all the more enjoyed because the erotic

relationship, although still standing outside the code of courtly love, does not produce any anxieties. It is basically conceived not as a challenge to the accepted forms of behaviour but as a means to endorse them.

Although Urich von Singenberg's dawn-song features a watchman, he does not really enter into a relationship with the lovers. To find a direct involvement of lovers and the watchman one has to turn to Wolfram von Eschenbach's poems [45]. This great poet, who is best known for his narrative works, has left a small corpus of lyric poems, amongst them eight dawn-songs [46]. One of the main reasons for the intense interest in these dawn-songs derives from the fact that a number of eminent critics believe Wolfram von Eschenbach to have introduced the watchman figure into the German lyric. Several of his songs show such mastery in the handling of this figure that they illustrate through it the possibilities and the limitations of the genre [47].

Unfortunately for the present study only one of these fascinating dawn-songs portrays a woman as a protagonist in a conversation and thereby offers itself for closer analysis here. The work in question is the five-stanza song *Sine klawen* (MF 4, 8-5, 15). In it the watchman and the lady sustain a dialogue in five alternating stanzas. The poem is concluded by a further narrative stanza.

The text of this remarkable poem exists only in one manuscript. It appears there together with *Den morgenblic bi wahtaeres sange erkos* (MF 3, 1-4, 7) which precedes it without any specific reference to Wolfram von Eschenbach's authorship at the very end of MS G. Luckily in this case the attribution of the dawn-songs to Wolfram poses no real problem as this MS is solely made up of works by this poet [48]. The two dawn-songs seem to be added at the very end of the MS, almost as an afterthought, solely because the copyist associated them with Wolfram's name.

Sine klawen opens with a magnificent and much discussed description of the day as a beast which tears open the protective blanket of the dark clouds of the night to let in the stark day-light. This very startling image is only important for this study, which is mainly concerned with the interaction between the protagonists themselves and that which they have with their public, in so far as it defines the watchman's understanding of his own reality. He recognizes and accepts his own subordinate position in relation to the mighty cosmic force of the day which, as the adjective

tegelich (MF 4, 12) expresses returns with irrevocable regularity. But the real cruelty of the monster is directed not against him, who only observes the change, but especially attacks the man. The claws of the beast come down on the lovers in order to tear the man away from his erotic pleasures. This clear early reference to the lovers as implied in the term *geselleschaft* (MF 4, 13) is the first knot in the network of erotic language which covers the whole poem [49].

Only after this powerful evocation of the day as a dramatic force does the watchman turn to his own role. The two outer lines of his four-line Abgesang state his willingness to help the man, which seems to be based on the watchman's respect and admiration for his noble character. The exact nature of their relationship is not made clear. The listener only learns that the watchman, having let the man in, feels responsible for his safe return.

The following woman's stanza presents the watchman's task as his own particular responsiblity and with it totally ignores the picture of the monstrous force of the day to which the watchman can but submit. The woman answers the watchman's call with an aggressive complaint. She seems to interpret his *singen* as a personal attack designed to cause her pain. The sense of its assumed maliciousness is particularly underlined by the statement *immer morgens gegen dem tage* (MF 4, 23) because it implies a repeated offence. The second half of the stanza then strengthens the attack with the woman's order to him to be silent - or possibly his offer of silence:

Diu solt du mir verswigen gar.
daz gebiut ich den triuwen din. (MF 4, 24-4, 25)

The appeal to his *triuwe* implies a relationship of mutual obligation. But as the stanza does not give any information about the woman's relationship to the watchman, her instruction also remains open to at least two understandings: that she wishes to ally herself to the watchman either instead of the man or as well as the man. As part of her side of the bargain she offers an as yet unspecified reward. Although this proposal leaves no distinct impression of the relationship between the woman and the watchman its purpose is entirely obvious. She wants her lover to stay a little longer.

The established development of the story-line which fuses the watchman's martial and social functions makes it, of course, a necessity for the watchman to refuse the woman's proposal. This very predictable reaction

deserves detailed analysis because of the watchman's reasons and their formulation in the stanza. The two initial Stollen widen the so far private problem into a powerful social argument. The watchman explains that he and the lovers must prevent a public discovery of the couple's sexual intimacy because its detection would threaten the man's life and honour. It is interesting that Wolfram introduces here a formula of advisable prudence which is not dissimilar from Ulrich von Singenberg's admonition. In his advice:

laze in minnen
her nach so verholn dich
daz er behalte ere und den lip. (MF 4,31-4,33)

the watchman presents the separation as a stratagem undertaken against society in order to secure a future meeting. This means a notable argument against the notion of "Verhöfischung" in this dawn-song, as argued by Alois Wolf [50]. Although as Wolf observes the outer changes of place and language suggest this interpretation, this dawn-song, like many other of its genre, is in its ideology diametrically opposed to that of the courtly love-song. There the lovers are to strive for the intensification of a social ideal through the means of an erotic attachment, while here, in the dawn-song, the lovers are seeking a sexually fulfilled relationship apart from the social group. The intent and purpose of each situation is thus entirely different; while the Minnelied is about the fulfilment of an ethical concept, the dawn-song concerns itself with nothing if not the fulfilment of sexual love.

The second half of this stanza, in a repetition of the structure established in stanza one, is again concerned with the watchman's personal relationship with the lovers and with his notion of *triuwe*. The listeners are here more obviously made aware of the man's position between the woman and the watchman; both feel for him and both compete for closeness with him. The expression *...din kus mir in an gewan* (MF 4,37) puts the watchman, in his duty to care for the man and to look after his well-being, on almost the same human level with the woman. This device represents a further sophistication of the relationships between the protagonists which is especially relevant as the watchman shows himself as a likeable human being who genuinely participates in the development of the action.

This opposition between the speakers' differing commitments to the man becomes even more pronounced in the fourth stanza. Here the woman rebels against the watchman's call. Her resistance seems to be fuelled by the

general desire to continue the pleasures of physical closeness but also by a more specifically personal antipathy to the watchman which leads her to question his *triuwe*. The discreet element of rivalry strengthens the woman in her desire to continue the pleasures of the night; a mood which at the same time can be interpreted as a refusal to recognise the reality of the outside world. The power of the woman's erotic passion and her corresponding depth of depression is evident in the sudden swings from erotic language to hurt accusation.

Having recognised that nothing can silence the steadfast watchman, which also means that nothing can halt the lapse of time, the woman now resigns herself to the watchman's singing but with the paradoxical wish that she might be exempted from its consequences. The introductory sentence of the stanza is indicative of two important factors: firstly the already mentioned wish of the woman to distance herself from external reality or as Wolfgang Mohr puts it in a psychological interpretation, to appease her own inner fears [51]; and secondly - and this is for this study equally important - through the particular phrasing of the problem the woman pitches her own relationship with the man against that which the watchman has with him. She pushes the watchman into a position of irrelevance while at the same time hoping to lift herself and her lover through their common purpose, as expressed through the parallelism ... *minne braht... minne enphienc* (MF 4,40), onto a different plane. The gap which has arisen between the watchman and the lovers is then further reinforced in the following lines because here the text again suggests a psychological as well as a social interpretation. On the psychological level, these lines represent a widely acknowledged flight into a dream world [52]. The woman does not want to face the unpleasant reality, and so she attacks the watchman through a memory of the past. But the details of her charge are also a criticism of the watchman's *triuwe*. The woman accuses him of having maliciously sung too early on previous occasions and thereby of having taken the man away when he was still rightfully hers. In her concluding sentence, however, she plays her trump-card and declares herself the eventual winner of this contest. The watchman can take away the lovers' physical closeness but he cannot end their love. That, the woman can always preserve in her heart:

du hast in dicke mir benomen
von blanken armen, und uz herzen niht. (MF 5,4-5,5).

The competition between the woman and the watchman, although unjustly created by her , fulfils one of the most important possibilities of the dawn-song. The woman wants and stands for the prolongation of her personal erotic pleasure, but the social reality of the dawning day conveyed through the figure of the watchman must curtail this wish. Wolfram's narrative talent leads him to invent humanly likeable characters on both sides, so that the sympathies are evenly distributed and the awareness of the depth of the problem is enriched. The woman's eventual triumph opens up the audience's understanding of the limitations of the dawn-song which by design is concerned with the ephemeral moment of the parting at dawn. The love of the woman in this relationship, and therefore also presumably the bond between the lovers, will persist beyond the strict time limit set by the poem. The problems and tensions which it is set to explore pale in relation to this long-term view.

The narrative of the final stanza contributes nothing to the understanding of the relationship between the protagonists. With its erotic content, which Wolfgang Mohr has rightly identified as the final purpose of this dawn-song, it reminds the critic of the other important relationship generated within the poem, that between the protagonists and the public. The involvement of the audience comes about here as elsewhere largely through the stimulation of their erotic imagination. In this respect the song has a notable climactic structure. Stanzas one and two only refer to the lovers' sexual intimacy through the use of the term *geselle* (MF 4,27) and its derivative *geselleschaft* (MF 4,13) [53]. Each of these stanzas only mentions one erotic term but in the following two stanzas the number of references to this topic are then doubled to two per stanza. With this increase in frequency goes at the same time a carefully calculated intensification of explicitness. Thus stanza three uses for the first time the verb *minnen* (MF 4,31), and the same term is then reused as a noun in an expanded phrase in the same area of the following stanza: *der minne brahte und minne enpfienc.* (MF 4,40) [54]. A similar process occurs in the last line of each of these stanzas, which carries a more specific description of the physical love between the lady and her knight. Stanza three evokes what would be regarded as a greeting scene between lovers while stanza four heightens the effect of their intimacy by a more specific reference to their sexual intimacy with the expression *von blanken armen* (MF 5,5) [55]. This very restricted vocabulary, which nevertheless reveals an interestingly intimate picture of the lovers' togetherness, is

particularly attractive because its stylistic repetitiveness slowly draws the audience closer to the lovers' sexual experience. It is a measure of Wolfram's poetic ability that the lovers' final erotic fulfilment is not told. The build-up of erotic tension is instead arrested at its highest point so that the listener's imagination is stimulated into picturing their pleasures. The intense erotic action remains on the other hand on the fictional level which means that the public can safely live through the excitement of the events and by proxy discharge their own tensions without being overwhelmed by them.

Wenzel von Böhmen's dawn-song *Ez taget unmazen schone* [56] is artistically not a very remarkable song. It will nevertheless be included here because it provides a convenient foil for the study of certain essential changes which this genre undergoes. Most of these innovations are again evident in alterations of the dawn-songs' relationships.

The first and most obvious observation which is generated by a comparison of this poem with others of its period concerns the form and function of the introductory stanza. Most dawn-songs, as indeed some other medieval genres, begin with a short description of the lovers' situation [57]. Such an introduction not only evokes the time and place of their meeting but through its atmosphere also forges a relationship between the protagonists and their public. Two particularly apt examples are Dietmar von Eist's *tageliet* (MF 39, 18-39, 29) and Wolfram von Eschenbach's Wächterlied (MF 4, 8-5, 15). In the former the simple Natureingang corresponds to the naïvety of the lovers themselves which by itself is greeted with sympathy by the public. Wolfram's splendidly sophisticated description of the dawn as a clawed monster, however, produces a far more complicated response which again matches the far greater psychological depth of the conflict represented. The public finds itself as overwhelmed by the ferocity of the image as the protagonists are by the moral difficulties of their choice.

This close relationship between the descriptive introduction and the character of the conflict facing the lovers is abandoned in Wenzel von Böhmen's song. His introduction, which stretches over a disproportionaly long span of eleven lines, is composed of a mixture of classical learning and contemporary imagery. But the complications of the images in no way correspond to the lovers' physical or emotional problems. All the characters of the poem are fairly straightforward and down-to-earth people. The introduction does not therefore prepare the public for the following

action. Its function, at which one can hence only guess, might be twofold. It provides the poet with an opportunity to display his stylistic art but also - and this might here be the more attractive interpretation - because of its inappropriate seriousness it might be related to the eventual comic purpose of the song.

The extent of the dislocation between the expectations built up and the action of the song only becomes obvious in the following stanza, which apart from being the mathematical centre of the poem is also its narrative one. In it the woman develops her reaction to the watchman's cry. Her main and indeed only thought, and this is the aim of the argument of the poem, is directed towards the watchman's corruptness. He must be paid a bribe in order to entice him to fulfil his task at the right time.

The unexpected turn of the narrative is of particular interest in relation to Wolfram's Wächterlied because it further develops two of its main concerns. In both poems the critic can observe a preoccupation with the subject of *triuwe* as well as an interest in the question of the representation of reality. The topic of *triuwe*, which is the first to be examined here, affects both the relationship between the lovers and the watchman and that which they have with their social community. It is therefore noteworthy that at the beginning of stanza two (line 3) the arriving lover is called *ir minnen dieb*, an image which seems not only to identify the relationship as illicit, but which deliberately suggests a value judgement. The man is named as an offender, though in a conventional and rather facetious way.

But the far more obvious and more interesting variation of the set pattern of correct behaviour can be observed in the relationship between the lady and the watchman. He demands and receives a bribe for the proper fulfilment of his appointed task. This means a very obvious reduction in the meaning of the relationship between the watchman and his charge. The link between these parties is no longer created, as in Wolfram's song and in the Provençal examples before him, by the complicated ethical concept of *triuwe* but is solely based on the prosaic motive of economic reward. This formula annuls the humanly engaging centre of this genre. But this is not to say that the watchman of this poem appears as entirely unfeeling. He shows a degree of concern for the man's safety when he warns the woman to let the man go immediately at the second and true call, because any further delay would seriously endanger her lover.

The final and possibly most important issue to be considered here is the poem's concern with the representation of reality. This is a question which seems to enter the German dawn-song together with the appearance of the watchman. The thrust of the poet's intention directs itself towards a more plausible account of the lovers' experience. But each of the poems explores the representation of reality from a different angle. Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Sine klawen* (MF 4,8-5,15), which bows to this need for a more realistic description of the lovers' physical background by transferring the couple from the garden into the bed-chamber, is in actual fact more interested in the symbolic or psychological dimension of the conflict. The physical or social distance between the couple and their faithful watchman is not really an issue yet. This is to change. Wenzel von Böhmen's song strives for a clear division between the couple and the watchman, and Ulrich von Liechtenstein, as will be shown below, abandons the figure of the watchman altogether. Wenzel von Böhmen's approach to the representation of reality reveals itself most obviously in the physical distance which the woman introduces into her two relationships with the male protagonists. The lines

diu frouwe stuont und begunde gahen
hin zuo dem wahter eine. (II, lines 10-11)

state a clear social and therefore also moral distance between the noble lovers on the one side and the base and mercenary watchman on the other.

The effect of this division, together with the associated reduction of the ethical conflict, is to alter the character of the dawn-song. The potentially tragic element of the Frauenklage which made up a substantial part of the earlier examples of this genre is now exchanged for a comic intention.

The comic relief results from the gap between the public's expectations about the conflict facing the lovers and the actual - for this genre inappropriate - solution: instead of having to make an ethically demanding choice the lovers simply pay a bribe. Once the public's fear for the couple has found an outlet in its amusement over the relationship between the woman and her watchman, the poem widens to a general praise of erotic happiness, as is not unusual for a comedy:

si wart sa umbevangen
er kuste ir roten munt, ir klaren wangen.
daz was der minne lehen.

liep unde lust die liezen sich do wenic ieman flehen.
da daz ergienc, da ist ouch me ergangen. (III, lines 9-13)

The conclusion, like that of Wolfram's song, leaves the final fufilment untold. The listeners find their greatest pleasure through imagining the lovers' contented love-making.

A similar atmosphere of sexual success pervades Ulrich von Lichtenstein's dawn-song *Ein schoeniu maget* [58]. The thematic analogies - which are one of the main reasons why the this song follows here - go beyond the celebration of sexual fulfilment. They include both a concern with the plausibility of the watchman as well as a willingness to create comedy. On the other hand this song differs substantially from any of the lyrical poems discussed so far, and this is because it forms part of a larger work, the *Frauendienst*. This minne-autobiography is unique in Middle High German literature in so far as it builds the traditional themes of the minne-lyric into a humorous narrative which is then interspersed with songs. The story tells of two very different love-relationships. In the first part of the work the male protagonist, who speaking in the first person singular, tells of his attempt to woo a high and often whimsically cruel *frouwe*. His account of his sufferings and humiliations takes at times an almost burlesque form. The second part, in which this particular dawn-song occurs (according to Ulrich's own counting No. 40), then paints the picture of a more successful relationship. With the success comes a formal change. The narrative parts increasingly lose their independence and turn into theoretical introductions and discussions of the songs.

The link between the narrative parts and the lyrical songs, although interesting for the study of the literary representation of reality and its reception by the public, was as Olive Sayce has pointed out judged by contemporaries as being weak enough to make it possible for the songs to be lifted out of their context and to be reproduced on their own in MS C [59]. And this entitles us as later recipients to look at the songs on their own, but, of course, for critical purposes and where it seems illuminating to make reference to their narrative context.

Such a study of the poem's immediate framework is particularly fruitful for the question of the role of the watchman and his relationship to the woman. This figure, which had only become prominent in Wolfram's generation, is in *Ein schoeniu maget* already abandoned again. His symbolic role as the mediator between the inner and the outer world is no longer

thought of as central, and he is replaced by the maid, a more realistic figure in this role. The reasons for the rejection of this character are carefully laid out in a lengthy introduction to the song [60]. Most of the critics who have taken an interest in this particular *tageliet* have mentioned the connection which Lichtenstein makes between the watchman's social class and his base moral character. It suffices therefore to repeat here the key statement of stanza 1623:

geburen art kan niht verdagen:
des sol man in ungern sagen.
edeliu art kan swigen wol:
da von si heinlich wizzen sol.

But what has perhaps not received enough attention is the central position which the woman occupies in the discussion. In the following stanzas it becomes clear that the poet substitutes the maid for the watchman only because of his concern for greater plausibility. Although this is not explicitly mentioned, his intention is to create a sexually sucessful *frouwe*. She needs a faithful and discreet maid:

Ez müest ein armiu frowe sin,
diu sorget uf des morgens schin,
diu niht gewinnen möht ein maget,
diu baz bewart daz iht betaget
ir vriunt bi ir, waer ez ir leit.
ez würde ouch verre baz verdeit
von ir diu heinlich, dest mir kunt,
danne ob ez sünge des wahters munt. (stanza 1626)

Beyond the practical protection of the woman the poet has no particular interest in the watchman. The rest of the introduction therefore concentrates entirely on the approval of the lovers' sexual happiness.

The dramatic enactment of their relationship follows in the dawn-song which like many of its kind begins with a warning addressed to the lovers, except that the task of the watchman is this time fulfilled by a trusty maid. The lovers respond to it with a short dialogue.[61]. Both the woman's answer in stanza three as well as the man's subsequent appeal are of interest for this study because through their possible comic elements they invite a comparison with Wenzel von Böhmen's song. The main difference between the two songs arises from their compositional technique; where Wenzel von Böhmen creates amusement by changing the development of the dawn-song narrative, Ulrich von Lichtenstein does so through his

rather more subtle play with the themes of the song. The stanza spoken by the woman exploits the Hohe Minne-Topos of the relationship created between the lovers through the meeting of their eyes. This exchange of glances is generally represented as an intense experience through which the lovers are attracted and bound to each other [62]. Lichtenstein, however, in keeping with his concern for the representation of a plausible relationship denounces their power. They achieve nothing for the practical protection of the lover. He has to make do with the possibilities of the real world - with the *kemenat*. The amusement which one might imagine the stanza to have given stems from the contrast between the expection of the representation of intense courtly love and its rather profane rèalisation.

The man's stanza is equally on the borderline between serious dedication and its comical realisation. The comedy of the woman's daring decision to hide her lover in her bed-room, in itself a staple topic of burlesque erotic tales of the time, is heightened when the entirely dependent and fearful lover offers to fight should he be challenged by another man.[63]. This promise of valour by which the lover dedicates himself to his *frouwe* is amusing because of its incongruity with the earlier wish to be hidden and therefore not to have to face the warrior-life of the day-time.

Although Ulrich von Lichtenstein's song shares with Wenzel von Böhmen's poem the particular amusement which arises from the gap between the sublime expectations and their banal fulfilment, their most striking common element is eventually that they both celebrate an erotically happy and confident relationship in which the originally overriding theme of separation has lost its dramatic power. The lovers are brought to sexual intimacy not by fear but by the simple wish for each other's physical love, a love which is experienced in a situation of relative safety. In literary terms this shift in the relationship between the lovers and their society brings the development of the dawn-song to its conclusion. Fear, which from the beginning has been the essential motor for the creation of emotional and sexual intensity, is replaced by achievable but essentially undramatic contentment and harmony. The difference in the lovers' sexual roles is almost effaced and all that remains for the audience is a sense of light entertainment and relaxation which in the end is memorable only because of the comic motif of the hidden lover.

CHAPTER FOUR

SONGS OF CRUSADE AND PARTING

The crusading song is neither a subjective nor an objective genre. Indeed there was no fixed medieval definition for it, and that is because more obviously than any of the other courtly genres it appeared as a response to a real-life situation. The modern definition of the Kreuzlied has provoked almost as much discussion as that of the crusade itself. But from Peter Hölzle's thorough study of the genre, it emerges that there are basically two approaches to this problem: one restrictive, the other extensive [1]. However attractive the precision of the restrictve definition, which is best represented by Hölzle's own wording, might be:

> "Poeme [...], die in der Mehrzahl ihrer Strophen und Verse mit direkten - und/oder indirekten Appellen an ein Kollektiv der Wehrfähigen und/oder Herrscher z.T. auch mit dem Exempel der Kreuznahme eines oder mehrerer Herrscher oder eines Dichters oft in Parallele zur Kreuzpredigt zur Kreuznahme aufrufen."[2]

it is not as useful for this study, which is in the first instance concerned with the human relationship between the lady and her lover, as Ulrich Müller's extensive approach. He describes 'Kreuzzugsdichtung' simply as "Dichtung über diesen christlichen Glaubenskrieg sowie Wallfahrt ins Heilige Land."[3] This definition, which places the experience of the crusade at its centre as opposed to a strict literary definition of the genre, means of course that the observation of the genre has to recede into the background. Indeed this chapter will combine a number of genres, but they will all - except for the final two songs - be related by the theme of the man's decision to go on crusade. The description of the experience of parting or, as in some of the Romance poems, of being apart, carries on some of the themes already featured in the discussion of the dawn-song. The analogy between the two situations is potentially so close that the Burggraf von Lüenz is able to combine the two topics in one song, *Es gienc ein juncfrou minneclich* [4]

Although the crusading movement was a continual and socially all-encompassing phenomenon between 1150 and 1250, it only produced a handful of major expeditions into the Holy Land [5]. There is nevertheless no doubt that the crusading idea as well as the experience of the Orient had a huge and far-reaching influence on Western European culture. Its impact was not only significant for the knightly or aristocratic class, as Martin Erbstösser emphasises, but it probably reached to some degree all strata of society [6]. In the light of its acknowledged cultural importance it is interesting to draw attention to the fact that we have only a small and by

its nature diffuse corpus of poems which deal with the problems of the crusaders. One of the possible explanations for such a relatively small quantity of poems might be that these poems only appeared as a direct response to specific crusading expeditions, while the intellectual and cultural processing of the confrontation with the Orient went on almost continually throughout the period.

The emotional and eventually also sexual problems discussed in the crusading lyric are initiated by the man because it is his decision to participate in a crusade. The ensuing dilemma, which is often represented as a choice between the pursuit of temporal or eternal love, is interesting here because it operates through variations of patterns of thought which are familiar from the Minnelied. Here as there the woman does not appear as the speaker. She can only react to decisions already made. Although the study of the man's poems, which acquaint the public with the first stage of the lovers' experience of the crusade, does not entirely comply with the subject of this thesis, they still have a place in this chapter. This is because these reflections of the man afford an introductory insight into the problems which are at the heart of the confrontation between courtly love and the service of God through the crusade.

The arguments and proposed solutions of the man's predicament are best laid out in the poems of three roughly contemporary poets: Friedrich von Hausen, Albrecht von Johansdorf and Hartmann von Aue. Their crusading poetry appeared as a reponse to, or even an appeal to participate in, the third crusade, or, in the case of the two later poets, perhaps as a means to support the immediately succeeding so-called "German expedition of 1196" [7].

Friedrich von Hausen, who himself participated in the third crusade and eventually met his death in Asia Minor on May 6th 1190, wrote two interesting poems which both centre around the man's leave-taking from a capricious and unrewarding *frouwe* in order to enter into the service of God. Although the narratives of the songs *Si darf mich des zihen niet* (MF 45,37-47,8) and *Min herze und min lip diu wellent scheiden* (MF 47,9-48,2) differ, they share a whole set of key ideas. The former work, which MS C renders as a five stanza poem with its natural middle and climax in stanza three, but which appears in MS B as only possessing four stanzas, does not explicitly refer to the crusading intention [8]. Instead the poem opens with the man's most important ideological problem: the question of his own

dedicated loyalty and honourable conduct. All the subsequent stanzas repeat and vary this theme.

The man's dilemma, as the narrative will show, arises from his intention to change his allegiance, but as a knight and courtly lover he also wishes to preserve the respect of his fellow-men. To achieve this he first of all has to demonstrate the depth of his dedication to his present 'overlord' - his lady. He illustrates his passion through the not uncommon theme of the crazed lover. Preoccupied with his desire to please the lady, he no longer notices the physical realities of every-day life, and so he bids people a 'good morning' at night-time.

The second stanza extends the theme of the man's passion for his lady with a further proof of his sustained and extreme fervour. The affirmation of his ardour, which is designed to contrast his own *staete* with the woman's refusal to reward him, names those two key terms which are the central topic of Hausen's other song *Min herze und min lip diu wellent scheiden* (MF 47,9-48,2). In the present song the unity of the heart and the *lip* are still preserved; but only just, as the next stanza will show.

The final lines of the stanza introduce a rather curious transition to the lover's concern with God. He concludes his demonstration of dedicated love with the statement that he not only thinks of his lady in the presence of his fellow-men, but is absorbed by her image even in front of God. But that he argues is God's own fault for making his lady so temptingly beautiful.

As the man's description of the relationship proceeds, so do his accusations against the cruel fate which is embodied in his unrewarding lady. The topic of the *strit*, which has already been carefully introduced in stanza two and which is a general theme in the Minnelied and the Wechsel Type II, is now further exploited with a return to the relationship between Minne and folly [9]. The lover has progressed since stanza one in the evaluation of his conduct. His 'craziness', initially judged positively, is now contrasted with higher wisdom. This is the turning-point of the argument. In a process not dissimilar to the Provençal *comjat* the lover exchanges his dedication to the temporal love of the woman for God's eternal love. His main motive, and this is also the main parallel to the *comjat*, is that his new overlord will offer a better reward.

The two following stanzas try to justify this change of service by repeating and broadening the contrast between the two service-relationships. The man's main objective here is to show honourable

fairness towards his former relationship with the woman while at the same time praising the rewards of God, his new overlord, and thereby to appeal to the audience to follow him in the service of God.

This particular comparison between the two forms of service and their respective rewards creates new problems. By the social conventions of the Minne-ideology the woman is forbidden to grant the final reward, and she cannot therefore be held personally responsible for the frustrations of this code. The lover therefore has to attack Minne as a concept without defaming the woman as an individual. He does this by repeating almost like a refrain his wish to say *niht wan allez guot* about his *frouwe* [10]. This division between the concept and the person is, however, in the end not entirely satisfactory because the final statement of stanza four and five emphasises the strength of the link between God as a personally acting Being and the reward on which a vassal can count. The audience is left with a reinstated picture of a personal relationship between two individual beings which necessarily reflects back unfavourably on the woman.

The relationship which the lover and poet creates between the protagonists of the song and the audience is one of edifying entertainment rather than humorous amusement. Although this argument is based on the cerebral discussion of two ideologies, its final purpose is to appeal to the audience's emotions. They are to exchange the folly and frustration of temporal love for God's eternal and sure *milte*. To strengthen this appeal for conversion and repentance the poet not only builds up the contrast between two 'overlords', one generous with his gifts, the other cruel and mean, but he brings his argument to a climax with the threat of the terror of sudden death: *nieman weiz wie nahe im ist der tot* (MF 46, 28).

Friedrich von Hausen's other crusading song has become, perhaps because of the difficulty in understanding it, the poet's most famous work, and it has therefore also suffered from an excess of critical speculation. The four-stanza poem chooses the metaphor, well-known in the crusading lyric, of the argument between the heart and the *lip* as means of commenting on the lover's dilemma. The problem is again perceived in terms of feudal ethics; and hence this poem too places the question of the vassal's *staete* at the moment of his change of overlord in the foreground. Similarly, it also includes the theme of reward, but here it appears physically as well as ideologically at the fringe of the poem; in other words it is only indirectly referred to in the second half of the final stanza.

The poem, unlike the previous one, is not a contrasting representation of

the two forms of love but a discussion of the man's two possibilities of choice. The final decision is, however, already made: the knight will reject the desires of his heart, and that means his sexual desires, and go on crusade. The strength of his sexual love, which is his problem but also a sign of the correct behaviour of the serving lover towards his *frouwe*, is already indicated in the first stanza. The argument of heart and *lîp*, between staying and going, develops within the lover into such a problem that he can see no solution. Only God can help here.

But the following two stanzas attempt nevertheless to find a rational solution. Stanza two is directed towards the heart while the next stanza, addressed to the audience, comments upon the situation of the courtly lover. In this scheme of variations on the same topic, stanza two treats the heart as an old friend who has to be left behind because he cannot be persuaded to come. To a limited degree this argument creates an association between the situation of the heart and that of the woman. She also has to stay behind, bereft of her loving knight, and there will be nobody to protect her or to look after her. She and her lover have reason to worry about her future.

The subsequent stanza illuminates the problem more strongly from the point of view of the man. Wearied by unsuccessful efforts to gain his lady's sexual love, the man hopes to shed all the problems of his courtly life by taking the cross. But this reductive solution proves to be unsuccessful because the lover, although prepared to give up his sexual claims, still perceives himself as bound into the fabric of courtly life by the concepts of *triuwe* and *staete*. His accusations against the heart's adherence to the social virtue of *staetekeit* (MF 47,20) again represents a collision between two ideologies, one centering around the courtly society, the other more obviously around a male-dominated warrior-life. The insoluble problem is eventually resolved forcibly with an attack against the heart. It is not the lover but the heart which has not shown itself as a true friend, because in the end it does not care about the lover's well-being. By implication this is again also an accusation against the woman who by her desire to keep the lover back, will, as the famous example of Conon de Béthune proves, rob the lover of his male honour [11].

The attack against the woman is carried into the final stanza with the very specific but already familiar complaint about her indifference and immovability. The arguments of at least the first half of the stanza are not only common in the crusading lyric but have many times been used in the

Minnelied. It is therefore not so much their form as their purpose which is important here. The full understanding of the poet's intention is unfortunately obscured by the comparison, for us enigmatic, between the *frouwe* and the *sumer von triere* (MF 47,38). The interpretations of this phrase, the most important of which have been conscientiously listed by Günther Schweikle in his commentary on the poem, are varied and at times fanciful [12]. One of the most prosaic but one which seems the most sensible, especially with reference to themes explored in *Si darf mich des zihen niet* (MF 45,37-47,8), has been put forward by Ulrich Müller [13]. He decodes the *sumer von triere* as an equation between the notoriously unfriendly and wet summer weather of the region of Trier and the ingratitude of the lady.

> "Das Trierer Wetter und ausdrücklich auch der dortige Sommer galten also im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert als sprichwörtlich feucht und unfreundlich. Daß die Wetterlage im 12./13. Jahrhundert anders war ist nicht anzunehmen [14]; ebenso wenig, daß man damals anders vom Trierer Wetter redete.[...] ..., wenn jemand unter Hinweis auf das sprichwörtlich bekannte Wetter einer der berühmtesten Städte Europas sagte, die Rede seiner Dame sei wie der 'Sommer von Trier', d.h. 'unfreundlich', 'unschön', 'unberechenbar', 'wetterwendisch'..." [15].

In short, and this is indeed how the poem ends, the man finds the reward for his faithful service so unsatisfactory that he is no longer prepared to be exploited in this way.

The discussion of the relationship between the lovers which forms the core of this thesis is unfortunately complicated by the doubts about the authenticity of the final stanza. Although present critical knowledge has no way of ascertaining that this stanza originally belonged here, and must even assume that the work might on occasions have been performed without it, there are good dramatic as well as thematic reasons for accepting its authenticity.

Having described the man's sexual attachment as born out of his adherence to the code of courtly love, the final half of the third stanza suddenly attacks his heart's desire to stay; such a wish would not only bring about a weakening of the man's whole person but more importantly it portrays an esssential flaw in his perception and will-power.

The subsequent fourth stanza plays on an exact repetition of the division of the two themes, and thereby continues and clarifies the audience's

understanding of the relationship between the lovers. The first part of this final stanza is again concerned with the man's attachment to the courtly theme of *staete*. The lover, determined to leave the service of his immovably cruel lady, uses a device which is well-known from the Romance *comjat* and which Hausen also employed in the poem discussed earlier. He portrays her continued indifference as such a grave offence against her obligation as a courtly 'overlord' - and here again one has to bear in mind the analogy between courtly and feudal service - that he as a vassal is honourably allowed to renounce her service.

The final half of the poem mirrors the end of the previous stanza with a return to the topic of *tumpheit* (MF 48, 1). The most interesting feature of this repetition is not so much the link it establishes between the stanzas themselves - although this could play a role in the argument about the stanza's authorship - but the devaluation of the love-relationship and especially of the woman which it implies. Her reticence is no longer viewed as sexually stimulating or socially educating. It is instead attributed to a lack of common sense. The description of her behaviour as *tumpheit*, a term which the dictionary firstly renders as "schwach von sinnen oder verstand" and which here has to be understood as "Unsinn", "dummes Getue", demotes her from her exemplary position as *frouwe* [16]. Similarly the man conceives that his persistence in such service will turn him into a *gouch* (MF 48, 1). The main meaning of this term is here "ein Tor, ein Narr" but in its collateral sense of "Kuckuck, Buhler" it makes a derogatory statement about the man's choice of love [17]. His attachment to sexual love for the woman displaces him from rightful love into a wrong situation. The association which this term establishes with the man's erotic discernment not only strengthens the devaluation of his temporal love, but also ties in with the more general attack on his manly identity as made in lines 5 and 6 of stanza three. There the man argues that the insistence of the heart on remaining dedicated to sexual love would lead to the spiritual death of his personality. At the end of the fourth stanza the form of this 'death' is spelt out more clearly through an initial attack on the woman which then widens to a charge against the concept of courtly love as a guiding force. The ideological conclusion of this poem is eventually again based on the contrast between the *wisheit* of choosing God's meritorious love and service and the folly of human *minne* [18].

The evaluation of the relationship between the protagonists and the audience depends even more than the discussion of the relationship between

the lovers on the acceptance or rejection of the fourth stanza. If one assumes with Peter Hölzle that the stanza is apocryphal then one must come to his conclusion that the poem

> "ist kein Kreuzlied [...], sondern ein Minnelied das 'kompliziert und künstlich' den Abschied eines Kreuzritters reflektiert und trotz seiner letztendlichen Absage an den Minnedienst den Kreuzzug problematisiert statt zu ihm aufzurufen."[19]

If on the other hand one accepts the stanza as an integral part of the poem - and the thematic correspondences between stanzas three and four carry at least some force of argument in favour of this view - then one has to agree with Ulrich Müller:

> "Das Kreuzlied des Friedrich von Hausen zeigt, daß Frauendienst und Gottesdienst unvereinbar sind und daß man sich für eines von beiden entscheiden muß. Die Entscheidung war damals für den gläubigen Christen eindeutig - zumindest in der Dichtung: die Wahl fällt immer zu Gunsten Gottes aus."[20]

The purpose of the poem is therefore nothing more than that of almost all crusading lyrics - to appeal to the knights to give up their worldly ambition in favour of taking the cross. But although this poem is in its intention directed against courtly pleasures, it presents its argument in a form which is also widely enjoyed in the Wechsel. And as has been argued in other parts of this thesis, this form of complicated and well-balanced discussion was part of a wider scheme of courtly enjoyment. It served the nobility as a means to express self-confidently its pleasure in its own intellectual abilities.

Friedrich von Hausen reacted with two of his poems to no doubt generally discussed issues. His rejection of secular love for a *frouwe* was probably largely shared by many of his contemporaries and is certainly echoed in Hartmann von Aue's lyrical work. Albrecht von Johansdorf, however, treats the relationship between the appeal to join the crusade and the pull towards secular love as a more obviously two-way process. Although he uses his secular love to reinforce the appeal to the crusade, he also employs the crusade as a means to strengthen the basis of secular love. His three-stanza song *Ich und ein wip* (MF 87,29-88,32) exists in two versions, as printed in MF. The essential difference between the two renderings consists mainly in the differing texts of stanza two. The problem of their interpretation is exacerbated by the fact that in MS A the lines 1-4 and 6

are missing. MF suggests that this difficulty can be overcome through a reconstruction of the text in accordance with the corresponding text of MS C 20.

Both versions of the poem take up the story at a different moment from that chosen by Friedrich von Hausen. Here the knight is no longer debating his decision, but has already taken the crusader's cross. His chief and almost exclusive concern is to convince his *frouwe* and thereby also his audience that this decision in no way detracts from his steadfast dedication to his lady. The poem begins like many Minnelieder with a representation of the *strit* between the lovers which is heightened by the man's specific situation. The woman interprets her lover's decision to leave her temporarily as a failure of his *staete*. Indeed she suspects that this departure goes hand in hand with the complete dissolution of their relationship. In the remaining part of the stanza the man therefore asserts that he has no such intentions. Part of the pleasure of listening to the argument with which the man attempts to set out his case comes from the recognition of its pleasingly symmetrical structure. The protagonist introduces the proof of his sincerity with a two line appeal to God's unfailing justice. The core of the demonstration is then formed by four lines of comparison in which he contrasts the depth of his attachment with the superficiality of his lady's love for him. The dramatic quality of his argument is provoked by associations which its images create with biblical stories [21]. Even the fierce winds of the sea which toss the seafarer around and let him see the abyss of life could not induce the lover to fail in his *frouwe*. But his high degree of commitment is not reciprocated because even the slightest clap of thunder would scare the lady so much that she would give up her love. The circle of this demonstration is then finally closed with two lines positively asserting the man's unfailing love.

The second, reconstructed stanza of MS A continues in much the same way. It is mainly an affirmation of the man's private relationship with a single and for him very special *frouwe*. His whole emotional day revolves around her:

Ine erwache niemer, ez ensi min erste segen
daz got ir eren müeze pflegen. (MF 88, 13-88, 14)

This attachment will remain unaffected by the geographical distance which the crusade creates between them or by the passing of time. To underline the depth of his commitment as well as to remind the audience that this is

a poem of parting the protagonist turns in the Abgesang to the couple's final fate. He hopes that after their death - and this parting might be final for them - God will accept both his lady and himself into his eternal kingdom.

Stanza two as recorded in MS B and C revolves less obviously around a single relationship or thought. Instead its objective lies in the exposition of a Minne-ideology which builds the contrast between true love and falseness into a concept that has validity for the courtly community as a whole. The first half of the stanza proclaims the special power of honourable adherence to the code of *minne* by making an unusual connection between courtly ethics and God's decision at the Last Judgement. The true lover who has wisely chosen *reiniu wip* (MF 88,34) will be rewarded with the highest Good, that of eternal life. The continuation of this thought, which involves the protagonist's declaration that he is willing to descend into hell on behalf of all lovers, has not yet found satisfactory critical explanation. The particular problem with this passage, apart from the suggestion of a link between secular *minne* and religious imagination, is the question of its connection with the crusading idea. Even Peter Hölzle who has thoroughly researched this aspect of the poem can only come to a logically acceptable but artistically cumbersome explanation. He interprets lines 9 and 10:

> "Für die beiden, die sich dementsprechend zu lieben vermögen, will ich gern zur Hölle fahren. (Die Höllenfahrt ist risikolos für mich, da ihre wahrhafte Liebe sie sündenfrei gemacht hat)" [22]

The rest of the stanza repeats and reinforces the contrast between the good and the corrupted lovers. The argument is eventually brought to a climax and a standstill with a return to a comparison between the protagonist's commitment to his own relationship and that demonstrated by other true lovers.

Although it is possible to give a lucid account of the stanza's content, it is not so easy to comprehend how this discussion of an obligation towards true love fits into a crusading poem. The difficulty arises from the unexpected shift in emphasis from the appeal for the crusade to the discussion of the life which the knight leaves behind. The first stanza looked at the lover's personal relationship with a specific *frouwe* and, unlike Friedrich von Hausen's protagonist, laid stress on the continuation of his attachment. The second stanza develops the underlying concept of stability and extends it to the whole of the courtly society. The lover's

wish for the unaltered continuation of the principle of *staete* arises naturally from practical considerations about the moment of his return. Then he hopes not only to find his *frouwe* unchanged - and there were tales about the unfaithfulness of partners separated by warfare [23] - but also a society whose life-style is entirely familiar to him. The man's departure on crusade does not, therefore, represent a dissociation from the ideals of his society; on the contrary, this stanza manages to underline the code of courtly love in such a way that the man becomes the champion of his society.

The Abgesang of the final stanza preserves the difference of emphasis between the private and the general which is so characteristic of the two versions. After the second stanza's discussion of the lovers' fate in the face of their Maker, this stanza returns to a contemplation of their more immediate perils on earth. Amongst these, death is the most terrifying; and at the moment of his vital decision to leave for a far distant place, the man reflects upon the fearsome question that he might never meet her again. This reference to death introduces a further shift in the time-scale of the knight's thinking. He casts his mind back to a recent disaster in which many lost their lives and which, as it is generally interpreted as an expression of God's wrath, gives him the ultimate justification for taking the cross [24]. But this account of a great disaster is eventually not significant for the knight's personal life but is related to the theme of stability. This is, however, where the texts and hence the atmosphere of the two versions differ considerably. MS A renders this Abgesang as follows:

und erkenne sich ein ieglichez herze guot.
diu werlt ist unstaete.
ich meine, die da minnen valsche raete,
den wirt zu jungest schin, wies an dem ende tuot. (MF 88,29-88,32)

The text finishes with an emphasis on the protagonist's own person. It is he who first of all through the use of the first person singular divides society into two groups: those who love in the right way, and to whom by implied reference to the previous stanza the lover belongs himself, and those who do not behave themselves in the true courtly way. Against those, and only those, the last line utters the threat of a dreadful and as yet unspecified final revelation.

The texts of MS B and C keep the whole idea rather more general:

nu erkenne sich ein ieglich herze guot!
diu welt ist nieman staete
und wil doch, daz man minne ir valschen raete.
nu siht man wol ir lon, wie si an dem ende tuot. (MF 88,29-88,32)

These lines no longer single out the particular love-relationship of the knight and his *frouwe* but are written for the community as a whole. In their mental outlook they draw on the idea of the changing motion of Fortuna, an ideological concept which found its most important exponent in Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae* and which remained widely popular in the literature of the whole medieval period.

The most important observation for the assessment of this song as a poem of parting is, however, that at the crucial time the knight's concern with his personal love seems to be replaced by his even stronger emotional attachment to the life of the community. His involvement with the life of the society is so powerful that his departure is no longer the cause for a difficult choice between two forms of life but becomes a means to reaffirm the common human lot as perceived from within that particular social group. The final impression of the Abgesang is therefore not about the impending change of life but about the continuity of its existence.

The difference in emphasis in the two versions also influences, though only slightly, the protagonist's relationship with the public. In version A the audience is mainly presented with the discussion and affirmation of a personal relationship. The listener's participation results from an interest in and identification with the personal fate of the knight, and as such this experience is also relevant for other members of the audience. The enjoyment derives from the individual's sympathy with the lover, but as it spreads to all the members of the listening public it creates that feeling of communal solidarity and support which is so important for the departing knight.

Versions B and C also describe the personal experience of a departing knight, but here the personal problem soon disappears behind the concern for the community. The central enjoyment comes therefore from the knowledge of a continued and stable solidarity between all the members of this society, regardless of their immediate future. The eventual message stands in complete contrast to Friedrich von Hausen's songs in so far as the crusading ideology is not represented as a challenge to courtly life but as a means to reaffirm its continuity.

Albrecht von Johansdorf was by no means the only poet to perceive a compatibilty between the intention to go on crusade and a secular love-relationship. On occasion Hartmann von Aue did so as well. The link between the two forms of service is even more poignantly expressed in the single stanza *Swelch vrouwe sendet ir lieben man* (MF 211,20-211,26). The main and most interesting proposition of these six lines again revolves around the crusade's main attraction, that of the spiritual reward. The most noteworthy feature for this inquiry is that the reward is not only sought or promised to the man, but is held out to the loving couple as a unit. In an unusual reversal of their roles the initiative here comes from the woman. It is she who sends the man on *dise vart* (MF 211,21), a *terminus technicus* for the crusade. The following middle lines of the poem then illuminate the question of the continuation of the love-relationship from the point of view of the woman's duties and rewards. With its concern for faithfulness and honourable decency this stanza echoes Albrecht von Johansdorf's demand for *reiniu wip* (MF 88,34). The correlation between the two poems goes beyond the simple accord over the image of the crusader's *frouwe*. It includes the whole concept of continued dedication, because as lines 3-5 clearly state the woman can only share in the reward of eternal life if her efforts of love and faithfulness match the arduous task of the man. The parallelism of the couple's duties, and therefore also of the high degree to which they share the service of God, is brought to a climax in the last two symmetrically constructed lines:

si bete vür siu beidiu hie,
so vert er vür siu beidiu dort. (MF 211,19-211,20)

Although with this statement the stanza lays stress on the geographical distance betwee the lovers, it is at the same time indicative of a certain shift of the woman's role within the courtly relationship. She is here probably reduced to an even greater degree of passivity, because now she cannot even choose either her lover or the degree to which she is prepared to grant any favours. Her sole task now lies in continued dedication to the memory of a distant knight. The development of the relationship between the lovers as well as that of the woman as a sexual being is therefore arrested at a particular point in time. Their love no longer fulfils itself in the concern for each other; but their energies are now absorbed by their dedication to a new service, that of God. As it was initially the very purpose of this sexually inspired passion to fulfil itself in the expansion of the lovers' erotic possibilities, this

preservation of the status quo represents in effect a substantial change - although perhaps only temporarily - of the courtly love-relationship. The other important change which the poem makes, and this concerns the relationship between the fictional couple and the listening public, is that the protagonists do not address the public. Instead the stanza is designed as an admonition by the poet to all women. He shows them a means by which they can gain merit as well as preserving their vital love-relationship. As in Hausen's *Min herze und min lip diu wellent scheiden* (MF 47,9-48,2) the poet's intention is to edify rather than amuse his public.

The theme of the woman's spirtiual paricipation in the crusade or at least of her encouragement to her lover to go on crusade is continued both in Otto von Botenlauben's Wechsel *Waere Kristes lon niht also süeze* and in the stanzas X-X^{c} of Heinrich von Rugge's crusading Leich *Ein tumber man iu hat* (MF 96,1-99,28) [25].

The former song is a two-stanza Wechsel in which both lovers lament the need for their parting without addressing each other directly. The man, who shows genuine tenderness for his *frouwe*, opens the poem with a justification for his decision to take the cross. The inspiration for this resolution is here as elsewhere the promise of *Kristes lon* (I, line 1). But although the man lets the audience guess that this parting causes him real emotional pain the stanza is not mainly centered upon the love-relationship. This only moves into the foreground in the last two lines. Here the knight expresses in a short prayer the hope that his efforts on the crusade will move God to perceive him and his lady as an inseparable couple and therefore bestow His grace upon both of them:

herre got, nu tuo mir helfe schin
daz ich mir und ir erwerbe noch die hulde din! (I, lines 6-7)

The woman's stanza is, as one would expect in a parallel Wechsel, similarly constructed. It also begins with the introduction and praise of the object of her energies. In an interesting shift of the parallelism, this is for her not God and his crusade but her lover. She has elevated him into the position of her God, and thereby reverses the expectations of the lovers' status within the courtly love-relationship. The strength of the woman's dependence upon a specific lover is reinforced in the stanza's final prayer to God. In these lines the woman makes it entirely obvious that by her at least the relationship is perceived as binding and continuous despite the man's physical absence. The resulting suspension of

the woman's erotic as well as human possibilities are here interestingly attached to the repeated term *froïde* [26]. This word, especially in association with the participle *spilnde* (II, line 7), leaves the audience in no doubt that the departure of this protagonist and others with him will not only entail the loss of personal happiness for the woman but will also have an effect on the social life of the whole court. This relationship between personal love and courtly *froïde*, however, only becomes intelligible for us if we remember that it appears at least in its literature as if this society expressed and created much of its self-esteem and its collective identity through intellectually sophisticated games.

The relationships within the poem are largely expressed in terms of a very uncertain future. In this situation, which is mainly characterised by the fear of loss, both partners show in places a serious and tender commitment to each other. Their relationship with the audience whom they both address at the beginning of their respective stanzas is less clear. They can certainly expect to attract their sympathy and agreement, but beyond the enjoyment of a slightly melancholic atmosphere, this poem offers little.

A quite different aspect of the woman's involvement in the crusading movement, or at least in the man's willingness to take the cross, is evident in a dialogue embedded in Heinrich von Rugge's Leich. Its stanza X shows that the desire to break with the agreeable comforts of courtly life and especially its erotic pleasures was not universal. Many a man did not want to undertake the arduous journey into the unknown East. But the crusading ideal had fused to such a degree with the image of the exemplary knight - and this is interesting both as a cultural and as a literary phenomenon - that a shrinking from God's service would be regarded as an offence against the code of courtliness. The poem very explicitly says that for the man such slothful cowardice would mean the loss both of the spiritual reward and that of his social esteem. He would be propelled to the very fringe of this closed society because no woman could any longer perceive him as either an amusing friend or a desirable lover.

This short extract from Rugge's Leich brings two important factors to our notice. It firstly lets us understand to what degree the crusading ideal had become a part of the knight's proof of his courtliness - here it is useful to point out that other poems point in the same way, e.g. Huon d'Oisi's famous attack on Conon de Béthune - and secondly the poem lays

stress on the possibility of the woman's active encouragement of the crusade through her selection of a meritorious man as her lover.

But, of course, not all women encouraged their lovers or even participated in their decision-making as actively as the woman in Rugge's Leich. An elegiac tone of pained loss and bewilderment is more general, as can be illustrated by two further poems by Albrecht von Johansdorf: *Guoten liute, holt* (MF 94,15-96,15), and *Mich mac der tot von ir minnen wol scheiden* (MF 87,5-87,28). The former is a four-stanza poem in which the first two stanzas are entirely given over to the man. In these he appeals to other members of the courtly community to follow his example and take the cross. The first stanza argues that all men should seek the reward of eternal life through the crusade, because God's creatures should reciprocate His generosity with their own. He bestows on all humans the gift of life on earth and its investment in the fight for the Holy Places might be conceived as man's return of his obligation, which at the same time also wins him a place in God's eternal kingdom:

got hat iu beide sele und lip gegeben.
gebt im des libes hie, daz wirt der sele dort ein ewig leben.
(I, lines 9-10 according to MS C)

The second stanza enters on the rather more specific question of the knight's personal erotic attachment to a woman and the psychological difficulties which arise from it at this time. The stanza progresses interestingly from an initial desire for complete abandonment of *minne* to the compromise of the woman's indirect participation. The knight first of all wishes to be set free from the maddening power of *minne*, but from the beginning he sees his crusade not as a complete change of life but merely as a temporary suspension of his erotic possibilities. Close reflection leads him, however, to a more realistic understanding of his emotional ties. He has to give in and admit that he cannot banish his love from his heart. As the thrust of his argument is firmly fixed on participation in the crusading movement, he has to accommodate himself with a second best. He will carry the image of his beloved to the Holy Sepulchre so that they can both share in God's reward, an idea which is already familiar from Botenlauben's Wechsel, and which appears here as the conclusion of the man's justification for leaving his *frouwe* behind.

The subsequent woman's stanza is basically a lament over the man's decision to depart to a foreign country. The stanza does not address the

man personally but is, like his speech, entirely for the public. The woman can find nothing positive to say. Instead her stanza is the outcry of a helpless victim who does not know what to do or whom to turn to. This feeling of powerless panic mounts with the passing of time, because it represents to her the approach of her lover's departure. The distress comes, as the questions in lines 5-7 show, from a deeper source than the simple personal lament at the separation from a lover. The departure of the man who creates a good part of her courtly *froïde* also deprives the woman of her function and position within the community. This loss of her place as the centre of erotically inspired wit and courage means to her the reduction of her inner life to a state of suspended animation.

The final stanza which acknowledges the woman's sacrifice and pain is divided between comments upon her and a quotation spoken by her. After the expression of the woman's powerlessness in the previous stanza, the introduction to this stanza now restores some dignity to her by emphasising the influence of the good woman over a man's heart. The attachment has become so essential to the knight that instead of being able to turn away from it the man has to carry its memory with him into the Holy Land. This continuation of his *Liebesschmerz* is viewed as only just, since the woman at home suffers similarly. As a final proof of her dedicated love and also of the advantage of their sharing in the experience, the poet reminds all men that the beloved woman will support her lover with a prayer. She like him hopes and prays for the attainment of God's eternal grace.

The poem is perhaps the most comprehensive of the works so far discussed because it combines in its representation of the lovers' relationship most of the essential arguments of the crusading lyric.

The first stanza is entirely built around the idea of God's reward and therefore concerns first and foremost the man and his fellow knights. But with the shift from the general to the private in the subsequent stanza, the poem becomes, as Hölzle has rightly argued, a Minnelied which is provoked by the man's taking of the cross [27]. The lover's considerations for his private life and in particular for his emotional attachment to his *frouwe* lead him to a reappraisal of his enthusiasm for the crusade. Although he counters his emotional difficulties first of all with an attempt to give up *minne* altogether, he never goes as far in his suggestion as Friedrich von Hausen. From the beginning he only sees the crusade as an interruption of his erotic life at court rather than as an alternative to it. But even this break with secular life does not work; and in the course

of the stanza the man progresses from the break with love to the compromise, which is here admittedly represented as a second best, that he has to carry the image of his beloved with him into the Holy Land. At this point Johansdorf endorses Hartmann von Aue's and Otto von Botenlauben's view that such spiritual participation also means the division of merit between the lovers.

The woman's stanza discontinues the idea of the shared experience and concentrates entirely upon the woman's loss of private happiness and public status. Although the woman's desperate questions are touching because of their almost naïve freshness and their genuine pain, they do not add much to the ideological progress of the poem.

The fourth and final stanza does, however: not so much because it returns to the idea of the woman's participation but because of the new role which it creates for the woman left at home. The image of her helpless passivity is replaced by the praise of her influence over the lover's fate. Her credit stretches from the preservation of the man's particular relationship to the more active prayer for the knight's eternal life. But what is perhaps even more important is that this stanza pleads for the restoration of the esteem of the lonely or at least temporarily abandoned woman. With this claim for the consideration and praise of the good and dedicated woman Johansdorf repeats and reinforces that idea of stability which he also expresses in *Ich und ein wip* (MF 87,29-88,32). The society which creates a new code of behaviour for the woman, namely that of steadfast faithfulness to her departed lover, allocates a new although very restrictive role to her.

The relationship between the protagonists and the public progresses equally throughout the poem. The first two stanzas deal, initially from the public rather than from the private point of view, with the appeal to embrace the crusading idea. The introductory stanza emphasises the overwhelming spiritual benefits, while the second stanza then diffuses the arguments with the consideration for personal desires. The last two stanzas add to this new scheme by looking on the problem from the woman's point of view. The desperation of the third stanza follows as a structurally pleasing reversal of the man's reflections. At the same time it also sets off the admirable virtue of the lonely but supportive *frouwe*. The poem's combination of the theoretical analysis of the lovers' duties and their emotional reactions to these obligations achieves a constant fluctuation from edification to identification.

Johansdorf's other poem depicting a dialogue between a crusading knight and his *frouwe* is *Mich mag der tot von ir minnen wol scheiden* (MF 87,5-87,28). The song, which is uniquely transmitted in MS A unfortunately suffers from a serious textual problem. There are two lines missing from the woman's speech in stanza two without there being an obvious gap in the MS. The poem is printed in MF as a three-stanza song [28]. The first and last stanzas are sung by the man while in the middle stanza is embedded a short response by the woman. The first stanza gives no particular indication of the crusading theme; it is mainly an affirmation of the man's love for the lady. The transition from this demonstration of unending devotion only comes in the last line with the knight's appeal to God. As is not unusual in this kind of lyric, he begs God not to consider him and his beloved as separate individuals but to divide his grace between them and so to treat them as a couple. The idea of their correlation is continued in the woman's response at the moment when she discovers the crusader cross on her lover's tunic. She assumes with her question that they both subscribe to a particular code of obligations which amongst other ideas includes the notion that lovers must seek togetherness. His decision to depart to a distant land across the sea violates this understanding and thereby provokes, as is obvious from her question, anxiety and pain. The two missing lines unfortunately prevent any deeper understanding of the woman's state of mind.

The final stanza, which poses some problems as far as its formal relationship to the preceding one goes, gives a tender but definite answer from the man. He will join the crusading army and *helfe[n] dem vil heiligen grabe* (MF 87,24), because even if he should die he can be sure of the much coveted reward of eternal life, which here again is represented as the ultimate reason for leaving all other earthly satisfactions behind. In its ideological conception and especially in the man's representation of his obligation this poem adds nothing to our understanding of the literary response to this phenomenon. The only reason for the inclusion of this work here lies in its representation of the lovers' bond with each other.

The poem is a variation upon the Minnelied which carries in its third stanza an indirect appeal for participation in the crusading movement. The love-relationship between the partners is characterised by the implied notion of the man's obligation towards the woman. In the first stanza this obligation is underpinned both by the man's desire to combat the possible doubts of his*frouwe* and the audience about his *triuwe* or *staete* and by the

reason for his specific choice of partner. He is bound to her by her exemplarily noble conduct, a concept which in the context of courtly literature is as much a moral concept as it is a social one. The distance which is usually thought to result from the woman's status is, however, suspended by the special danger of the impending crusade. Before God's grace the lovers become equals.

Although the interpretation of the lovers' relationship in the second stanza is naturally hindered by the two-and-a-half lines assumed to be missing, it is nevertheless clear that the stanza continues the theme of the man's obligation towards his beloved. Her understanding of his duty is clearly evident in the use of the verb *geleisten* [29]. In the man's following response the poet attempts through the demonstration of the couple's shared pain at his departure to preserve and underline the man's attachment to his *frouwe*. This insistence at the end of stanza two upon the man's reluctance to leave the lady restores to her a measure of status. But stanza three goes further with its tender reaffirmation of the subject of stanza one; and by linking this affectionate demonstration of his unchanged love to the couple's new cicumstances, the stanza surpasses the first one. After this answer the subject-matter drifts away from the personal love-relationship and concerns itself with the man's new duties: the investment of his energies in the service of God.

The progression, particular to this poem, from a concern with *minne* to the discussion of this love at the moment of the knight's epousal of God's cause must also have influenced the poem's reception. The first stanza offers the emotionally intense but very familiar pleasure of listening to the man's devotion to his *frouwe*. One of the main reasons why this stanza is enjoyed is certainly that it portrays a high degree of erotic pride and self-esteem which can be linked to the general self-perception of this society. But as the literature, in order to satisfy an intellectually keen audience, also demands variation and sophistication, the next stanza questions this devotion with the introduction of the particularly topical crusading theme. The discussion about the conflict between sexual desire and spiritual fulfilment was probably especially attractive, because it was at the time a relatively novel issue which nevertheless affected in some form or other almost everybody both in their personal and in their social life. In this discussion of two mutually exclusive obligations it is significant that the eventually overwhelming force seems to lie with the desire to participate in the crusade. The reasons for this may derive as

much from the function of the poem as a means of crusading propaganda as from the genuinely held belief in an eternal after-life. The public's enjoyment of the relationship is therefore increasingly abandoned, and in its place emerges steadily a concern for the edifying contemplation of God's uplifting service with its exciting high reward.

For the imagination engaged by the dilemma of the choice between erotic love and the crusade it is only a small step from the pained consternation of the *frouwe* in Albrecht von Johansdorf's poem (MF 87,5-87,28) to the abandonment of the young noblewoman in Marcabru's much praised romance *A la fontana del vergier* [30]. Although the main protagonist of this poem is crafted with deliberate simplicity, the song is nevertheless a fairly complex work, in particular because of the representation of its relationships. As such it has naturally generated a good deal of critical discussion. But of the questions which surround this work only a few are relevant for an inquiry into the role of the woman in the crusading lyric. The two main issues which are of interest here, especially in comparison with the German songs, concern the woman's active criticism of the crusade, and the representation of the sexual danger faced by the lonely woman and, associated with it, the question of her unwavering faithfulness.

Neither problem appears in any obvious way in the first two stanzas of this six-stanza song in which the poet in the guise of the lovér creates a setting for the subsequent erotic theme of attempted seduction [31]. The crusading theme only enters into the discussion in the woman's two following stanzas. Here she expresses her grief over the loss of her lover with vigorous accusations against the crusading movement. The woman begins her argument, as G. Hatcher has already demonstrated in a somewhat overstated article, with a charge levelled against the logical source of the crusading idea - that is to say, Christ's shame as embodied in the symbol of the cross [32]. She sheds tears of intense grief over the suffering implied by the cross because it has led to the departure of all good knights and lovers [33]. Nothing but languishing desire and sadness now remains for her and by implication for all other women. The fairly long exposition of the religious reasons for her anguish, which are nevertheless not intended to be blasphemous, turns at the end into a concentrated curse on King Louis, whom the woman perceives as the earthly instigator of the crusade.

Only after both speakers have exposed their very different inner thoughts and intentions does the audience witness an actual dialogue between them. The male protagonist who is largely motivated by his sexual desire for the woman attempts to catch her attention and therefore also to stop her tears with a calculated appeal to her vanity and self-respect. But his suggestion that she will spoil the physical beauty of her young face with her crying eyes goes further than simple flattery. Associated with it is the notion of barrenness versus fertility, as is underlined in the metaphor of the sprouting spring (V, lines 34-35). Here the hopeful poet offers the woman apparent consolation by reminding her that God who reawakens nature to life will also hold out new life and vigour for her in, of course, the form of a new erotic attachment. This insinuation which is, as several critics have noted, ambiguous in respect of the nature of the Godhead defines the male protagonist's view of the purpose of the woman. She is there to generate as well as fulfil *joi*, a term which in the Provençal lyric almost always defies translation. It can only be described as all those energies and pleasures which are experienced in the pursuit and fulfilment of erotic love. As such it implies simultaneously a social as well as a sexual notion.

But the woman does not respond to this aspect of the poet's suggestion. Her thinking is solely concentrated on the injuries which the crusading movement has caused her. Deprived of her lover, the woman is unable to imagine the return of any *joi* on earth. She therefore relates this term not to her finite life but to the heavenly joy of life in paradise, a time she is not yet really interested in. This obvious misinterpretation of the man's words makes clear the degree to which the woman is absorbed by her own feelings. She has heard the poet's words but she has not really understood their meaning. Instead she concentrates in her final statement on the pain that has been inflicted upon her. She does so through an artistically interesting repetition of the structure of stanzas three and four: her statement is again divided into two parts, a lament over God's desire to rob her of her lover and a bitter complaint against a particular human being - this time the lover himself. The sentiment that the man has preferred the crusade to her love implies, as G. Hatcher rightly remarks, a devaluation of the woman as an individual [34]. This complete abandonment of the woman stands in contrast to the German poems which - with perhaps the exception of Friedrich von Hausen's radical solution (MF 47,9-48,2) - usually propose a compromise by which the woman is allowed indirectly to

support her lover in his crusading effort and thereby to preserve a loving bond with him. On the other hand, it is this rejection which gives Marcabru's poem its artistically intense quality and which leads to the woman's violent criticism of the crusade.

The second important question revealed by this poem, which also has relevance for Guiot de Dijon's famous *Chanterai por mon corage* [35], is that of the social and sexual position of the deserted woman. Understanding of this important issue must, of course, be sought through the analysis of her relationships. In Marcabru's poem the female protagonist is basically shown as standing between two men, the absent lover and the present seducer. Her emotional and potentially sexual involvement is entirely concentrated on the far-away lover. But her feelings for him are not entirely positive because of the hurt he has caused her with his departure. This grief, made up of offended love and the desperation of having lost the focus of her courtly position, discharges itself in a series of logically interdependent laments. The first addresses itself to Jesus Christ who also at least in his life on earth appeared as a man. The woman's most important thought, apart from her reflections about the symbolism of the cross, relates to the fact that the crusading movement seems to have emptied all the courts of desirable lovers. The implication is a standstill of all courtly life. It is significant that the woman does not attach this charge to Christ but to King Louis. He is the one who has called for the crusade and who is going to lead it [36]. The same division between the lament addressed to God and an accusation against the human perpetrator is then repeated in the poem. At this point it becomes clear also that the departure of the lover has not only taken away courtly *joi*, but it has also pushed the woman into deeper passivity than any of the German poems seem to suggest. She ignores the poet's seductive intention not so much out of a chosen wish to be faithful to her first lover, a trait of character which Marcabru would certainly have wished to endorse, but because her grief over her lost personal esteem is so great that it does not allow for the consideration of any other issue. The poet's erotic language acts on the audience but seems to remain entirely unnoticed by the woman. This attempt at her seduction, although unsuccessful, is nevertheless noteworthy because it gives an important indication of the pressures which have to be faced by the unprotected woman. These new attentions are doubly unwelcome, firstly because the woman is emotionally still very much involved with the far-distant lover,

and secondly because those who remain cannot belong to that most courtly group of men who are desirable as lovers [37].

The question of the relationship of the protagonists with their public and the related issue of this song's function for the community is here involved with the wider and more complex issue of the poem's generic classification. As such the problem goes beyond the confines of this thesis. What perhaps can be remarked is that the woman's criticism of the crusading movement together with her exposition of its negative effect on life at court, especially for the women, suggest at least a questioning of the appeal of the crusades.

A not entirely dissimilar link between erotic imagination and female faithfulness is created in Guiot de Dijon's song *Chanterai por mon corage*. This poem, which consists of five eight-line stanzas each of which is accompanied by a four-line line refrain, is the only woman's song to be included in this chapter. The decision to feature this poem within this enquiry was provoked by the woman's particularly striking representation of her continuing relationship with the departed lover.

The slowly unfolding depth of this attachment, which reaches its climax in the final stanza, runs in this work the risk of being obscured by the possible confusion created in the minds of the audience by the repetition of several rhymes. This reuse of significant rhymes is mainly due to the organisation of the poem into three parts: stanzas one and two share the same alternating rhyme (a b a b a b a b, and refrain c d c d), as do stanzas three and four, while the last and final stanza stands on its own but is able to reapply at least some of the rhymes from the first unit because of its repetition of the -er rhyme. To achieve clarity in the discussion of the woman's attitude it would be useful to have a short summary of her argument.

The poem begins with an outburst by the woman. Fear and longing for the lover departed into a wild and uncivilised country unload themselves in her song, which becomes a means to calm herself and preserve her sanity. Her fear is exacerbated, though this is historically an exaggeration, by the fact that she has never yet heard of anybody returning from the wilderness of these distant regions [38]. The following refrain concentrates this fear in an invocation of God's help which is particularly needed because of the treachery of the heathens.

The transition from the powerful refrain to the second stanza is made through the invocation of God's help for the safe return of the lover.

After the initial concern for the man the poem moves increasingly to the portrayal of an intimate picture of the erotic fate of the deserted woman. The first and most pressing danger for her comes from her closest family. They are appealing to her to take another man for a husband. The idea that after his departure the crusader's beloved woman becomes free for the sexual attention of other man ties in with Marcabru's poem. But here as there the woman is totally absorbed by her passion for her chosen lover to whom she therefore also remains faithful.

The similarity between the Provençal poem and Guiot de Dijon's song becomes even more pronounced in the following stanza where the woman speaks of the loss of happiness. The text establishes a clear link between the lovers' togetherness and the woman's enjoyment of courtly pleasure in the expression: *Or n'en ai ne gieu ne ris.* (III, line 4). The idea of the lovers as a corresponding unit is further underlined in the adjectives *biaus* and *gente* of the following statement. Both terms are in this context as much a physical description as they are a moral one. With these adjectives the poet designates the partners as the ideal of courtliness [39]. The final part of the stanza again awakens memories of Marcabru's poem, because here as in the Provençal song the woman addresses God with the description of her suffering, which in Guiot de Dijon's work takes the form of questioning God's cruel reason.

The two final stanzas are marked by a progression in the description of the lovers' intimacy and in particular the woman's erotic feelings and needs. With this account of her love the woman restores - although only in her imagination - a degree of sexual closeness between herself and the knight. Stanza four reestablishes this contact between the young woman and her lover through the soft wind which blows from the Holy Land. Its light breeze acts as a messenger and substitutes for the distant lover by caressing the woman's body as once the lover did [40]. The final stanza heightens the erotic tension with an insight into the woman's bed-chamber. There she consoles heself in her lonely nights by pressing her lover's shirt to her naked body.

The most remarkable element of this poem is the depth of the woman's involvement with her lover. The relationship is clearly perceived at least from the side of the woman as a continuing one, a characteristic which comes close to the German representation of the crusader's faithful and supportive *frouwe*. The obvious danger arises for her not as in Marcabru's poem, which is here the other point of comparison, from another suitor but

from her close family. Their first and main interest must be for the upkeep of the family's wealth and property. This very practically orientated view of her matrimonial possibilities clashes with the woman's emotional priorities. She therefore has to reject emphatically their view that her waiting for the return of her lover is hopeless.

The subject of the woman's sexual availability has in this poem, however, a second level beyond her simple declaration of faithfulness. The last two stanzas seem clearly intended to stimulate the erotic imagination of, particularly, a male public. Their erotic desire is as in the Minnelied deliberately heightened by her declared unavailability. This again reflects back on the woman's own sexual possibilities in so far as she is now bound to a state of complete passivity, in order to hold the respect of the community. All she can do is concentrate her energies upon the absent lover. The sexual passion of others for her must remain frustrated. She neither can nor will react to it.

While the poem is as much an argument with the crusading idea as it is an acceptance of the continuing life at home, it is also much more oblique in its criticism of the concept. Its obvious and main difference from Marcabru's song is that the woman retains a positive relationship with her lover. She does not interpret his going away as a failure but even draws a degree of emotional satisfaction from it. Similarly she does not accuse the movement as a whole, but directs her anguish against the specific circumstances which result from it. The first accusation, repeated in the refrain, concerns the savage Saracens who make the whole enterprise appear as folly. But the real object of the woman's criticism and the source of her immediate anxiety is her family's desire to marry her off to someone else. The following three stanzas continue the topic of her resistance and therefore also that of her implied unhappiness over the crusade with a gradual intensification of the lovers' closeness.

The fact that grief gives rise to a new kind of pleasure significantly affects the audience's enjoyment of the poem. For them the work drifts away from fear generated by love for the knight to a celebration of the woman's sexuality. But as the crusading ideology lays such weight upon the woman's faithfulness it cannot allow an expansion of her erotic possibilities. On the contrary, the reduction of her sexual potential is shown most blatantly in the last two stanzas through her involvement with objects, the wind and the lover's shirt. The involvement with these tangible memories of the lover is clearly intended - and this touches the

audience - as a rejection of any new commitment. The erotic tension which the song builds up between the protagonist and the public can therefore not fuse. Instead it leads to an increased distance between the two parties.

A critical or even entirely opportunistic attitude to the crusades was not restricted in Romance literature to the abandoned woman, but quickly extended to the knights themselves. Hugués de Berzé's popular song *S'onques nus hom pour dure departie*, probably written about the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is a good example of this change of attitude [41]. The poem's popularity, which is generally taken as proof of the public's identification with the protagonist's emotion, is evident in the unusually large number of manuscripts in which this song appears. Ulrich Müller, following Joseph Bédier's edition of this text counts no less than eighteen known transmissions of this song [42].

Bédier attributes the public's desire to hear the poem repeated to

> "les sentiments à la fois vrais et conventionnels qui se partageaient le cœur d'un chevalier croisé au moment de quitter tout ce qu'il aimait."[43]

This evaluation imbues the work with greater psychological depth than can really be sustained in a comparison with the almost contemporary German poems already discussed. The artistic problem lies mainly with the choice of style. Although the work borrows its formal elements from the sophisticated *canzone* it fails to reach the psychological depth of the best examples of this genre. The song's arguments seem instead to meander almost inconsequentially between the representation of the man's dilemma and a direct appeal to his lady. Despite the artistic frustrations which result from the constant change of address, it is worth examining the poem because stanzas three, five, six and the final *envoy* reveal an interesting reluctance on the part of the protagonist to surrender the pleasures of courtly life, and especially its erotic excitement, and to embrace God's cause. The main inducement to participate in the forthcoming venture, in marked contrast to the German poems we have examined, is not the promise of God's reward but the rather more mundane consideration of the protagonist's wordly honour. The first clear indication of this view comes at the end of stanza three where the man concedes that high honour can be preserved by joining the crusading army because his failure to do so would be interpreted as a moral shortcoming. The notion that the man regards his taking of the cross as the fulfilment of an unwelcome and painful duty is

then further developed in stanza V. Here the man examines once more his relationship to the defence of God's cause. Although in the depth of his grief and anger over his parting he finds some consolation in the thought that at least God will be satisfied with his fulfilling of his duty, he cannot derive any positive joy from his relationship to the Almighty. His overall impression remains that he loses disproportionately much while only gaining the small profit of not offending God. The sixth stanza, which is also the protagonist's final address to his lady, then returns to the argument of the relationship between the man's position at court and his knightly honour, which in turn depends on his participation in the crusade: a link which is interesting from the point of view of the cultural history of the French aristocratic class. The thematic and cultural link between this stanza and stanza three is expressed through a repetition of this particular subject at the end of the stanza. In a sharpening of the focus this final stanza narrows the notion of the man at court to that of the courtly lover. This means at the same time an inclusion of the woman in the man's decision in favour of the crusade. With it the poem returns to the traditional argument of all courtly love-songs, namely that the man has to show himself worthy of his lady's love. His enlistment into the crusading army thereby becomes proof of his knightly valour, and reason for his lady to favour him. The question of the protagonist's social standing, as mentioned in stanza three, from now on centres on the judgement of his lady.

The incorporation of the crusading ideal into the system of courtly values means that the individual's religious motivation moves into the background. Indeed in opposition to his German counterparts, the man feels in no way inspired by the promise of an eternal reward. He goes very unwillingly and obviously against his personal inclination.

On the other hand this interpretation of the crusade within the context of the courtly chanson, which here reaches almost a level of preciosity, keeps the woman at the centre of the man's decision-making. It is her very demanding standard of expectation which induces him to undertake this '*aventiure*', a concept which customarily means the active pursuit of a goal for the man and passive acceptance for the woman.

The very courtly quality of the poem is further emphasised in the *envoy* where the knight does not so much reveal his pain at leaving his beloved as suggest that the knowledge of her unavailability, brought about by the

parting, only increases his erotic and sexual desire for her, a statement which is almost reminiscent of the Provençal notion of *amor de longh*.

The most striking feature of the poem, in particular if one compares it with the German songs, is however not so much the obvious link between the courtly chanson and the crusading theme, but the man's very pronounced indifference, if not reluctance, with regard to the whole movement. He treats it as a necessary worldly choice and not as a great spiritual opportunity.

The relationship which the man sets up between himself and his public is on the other hand largely based on the integration of the courtly love-song with the crusading theme. The song is received as a further repetition of the concept of unrequited love, rather than as a calling into question of the crusading movement.

On the periphery of the crusading lyric there are two further examples of a dialogue between a departing knight and his beloved: Rubin's poem *Ich wil urloup von friunden nemen*, and the Burggraf von LÜenz's dawn-song adaptation *Ez gienc ein juncfrou minneclich* [44]. But as neither song gives any new insight in the understanding already achieved of the woman's particular situation, they do not merit a discussion here.

A quite different case can be made out for the last two songs which are to feature in this chapter, both of which, because they speak of a parting, have at times already been related to the crusading theme. In actual fact they are, as will be argued below, not crusading songs but widows' laments. The works are Hartmann von Aue's *Diz waeren wunnecliche tage* (MF 217, 14-218-4) and Reinmar's famous *Si jehent, der sumer der si hie* (MF 167, 31-168, 30). The most obvious shared characteristic of these two poems is that they are both woman's songs. The circumstances of the creation of Reinmar's song and its intended speaker, namely the widow of Leopold V of Austria, are well-known and have been extensively documented in Jeffrey Ashcroft's article on *Reinmars Kreuzlieder und Witwenklage*, while the context of Hartmann's poem remains so far obscure [45]. The latter has given rise to numerous critical speculations, ranging from Helmut de Boor's opinion:

> "die Klage ist so allgemein gehalten, daß man daran zweifeln kann, ob es sich wirklich um eine Totenklage und nicht vielmehr um eine Trennungsklage handelt." [46]

to E. Blattmann's even more definite view:

"Daß XVI gleichwohl keine Witwenklage, sondern die Klage der Dame um den zum Kreuzzug aufbrechenden Freund sei, ... [47].

These hypotheses on the status and intention of Hartmann's poem can here be usefully clarified by a comparison on the one hand with the attitudes women take to their departing lovers in the songs already examined, and on the other hand with the defence of God's cause. Hartmann's poem shows in this context two important characteristics which would be most unusual for a crusading poem. The first relates to the fact that the woman in Hartmann's poem regards the separation as final and irreversible. She is entirely sure of the permanent loss of her lover, a feature which by her own admission sets her apart from all other women. Within the context of the German as well as the Romance crusading lyric such an expectation would be unique, as all the women hope in some form or other for the return of their lover. This feature is particularly striking in Guiot de Dijon's poem which, despite the woman's opening statement that she has never heard of a man returning from the wild eastern regions, then concentrates on the account of her long and determined wait for just this lover. The strength of her belief in the lover's return becomes particularly clear in the poem's middle stanzas, in which the woman rejects the suggestion of any other marriage than that to the beloved but absent crusader. She does so with the expressive plea to God:

Il est en pelerinage
Don Dex le lait retorner! (II, lines 3-4)

The German poems offer on the whole a similar solution by inferring that the woman participates indirectly in her lover's efforts through her patient waiting. Her lonely virtue strengthens her lover and confers merit upon her. This is an explicit feature of Otto von Botenlauben's crusading dialogue, as well as Hartmann's own single stanza poem (MF 211,20), but it also appears in Albrecht von Johansdorf's two dialogue poems (MF 87,5 and MF 94,15). In the two latter poems, the man's stanzas make it unequivocal that the relationship is perceived as continuing despite the man's departure.

The second important feature in this argument stems from the woman's attitude to God. Here the other crusading poems again differ significantly fron Hartmann's song. Although most women express a degree of pain or grief over their lover's departure, they all take a positive attitude towards the defence of Christ's earthly kingdom. Particularly obvious examples of this are again Heinrich von Rugge (MF 98,28) and Albrecht von

Johansdorf (MF 94, 15) who ends the song with a prayer by the woman for her lover's protection:

> *'lebt min herzeliep oder ist er tot',*
> *spricht si, 'so müeze sin pflegen,*
> *dur den er süezer lip sich dirre welt hat bewegen.'* (MF 95, 13-95, 15)

This surrender of the beloved crusader into the hands of his Lord and Saviour srikes a quite different note from Hartmann's bitter suggestion of a competition between the woman and God:

> *do ich sin pflac, do vröit er mich:*
> *nu pflege sin got, der pfliget sin baz danne ich.* (MF 217, 22-217, 23)

The distance which the woman opens up here between herself and God would not only be unheard-of for a crusading poem, but in its criticism would border on the blasphemous, a feature which is strenuously avoided by even the negatively orientated Romance poems *A la fontana del vergier* and *S'onques nus hom pour dure departie*. A resigned and even to a degree bitter submission to the greater power of God and the recognition that the hope of God's eternal care for the departed lover is all that is left for the woman would on the other hand be perfectly appropriate for a widow's lament. The woman's overall attitudes, together with the acknowledged formal similarities between Hartmann's and Reinmar's poem, seem therefore to build a stronger case for the interpretation of this poem as a widow's lament rather than as a crusading song with which it has very little in common.

If this were true then this song might possibly refer to the death of Hartman's own overlord, perhaps Berthold IV of Zähringen, who died in 1186, just a decade before Leopold V of Austria [48]. Accepting this song as a Witwenklage opens up two interesting and related questions, the first concerning the relationship between the two partners and the second analysing the position of the woman left behind. Here again there are indications that Hartmann's song is prior to Reinmar's not only because according to this interpretation the poem appears as the chronologically earlier song but also because it is overall the simpler one.

The poem says little about the relationship between the woman and her beloved, who could have been her husband or just an adoring knight with whom she had a long-standing relationship. All the audience learns is that this man who was the embodiment of the woman's happiness has been taken

away from her. The remainder of her days has to be spent in the torments of longing, a feeling which can only be alleviated through a reunification of the lovers in eternity. Although the lament is presented as an introspective and private consideration by the woman of her fate, it does contain some notions which recur in Reinmar's rather more public lament, notably the idea of the separation of the widow from the joys of love. In the context of courtly thinking this is as much a private notion as it is a public one. The distance which thereby opens up between the woman and her social group concerns not only her relationship with other men but also the support which a woman might receive from other women who pursue the same ideological concept. The loss of a lover means the loss of her status as *frouwe*, a position in which the woman feels herself so completely isolated that she becomes a tragic figure.

Reinmar's song is initially also a private lament, that of Leopold's widow Helene, but at the same time it is also meant, as indeed was Hartmann's work, for public performance, and as such it also encompasses the courtly reaction to the disaster of the duke's death. The relationship between the community and the bereaved widow is most obviously pointed at in the introductory stanza which negates the return of summer, the traditional time for love and courtly merriment, but which this year will not bring the usual happiness. Joy has gone with the death of Leopold not only because his demise is saddening but because he was the embodiment and origin of all happiness:

sit aller vröiden herre Liutpolt in der erde lit,
den ich nie tac getruren sach? (MF 168, 1-168, 2)

Although the two following stanzas again show the widow as absorbed by her grief and pushed into a position of loneliness, this solitude does not arise from an intrinsic separation of the woman from the court, but is provoked by a tender commitment to the memory of the beloved husband. At the centre of the poem therefore stands not so much a lament over a desolate future as an evocation of past happiness between the lovers. In stanza two Helene describes her beloved companion as *der spiegel miner vröuden*, while the following last stanza paints the difference between now and then with another reminder of the strong emotional bond between husband and wife:

Diu in iemer weinet, daz bin ich;
wan er vil saelic man, jo troste er wol ze lebenne mich,
der ist nu hin: waz tohte ich hie? (MF 168, 24-168, 26)

The poem, like Hartmann's, leaves no real hope for the widow, but unlike the former it ends on an encouraging note which at the same time also draws a more positive picture of the relationship between the lovers and God. The Almighty is asked to look after the dead man because he was *tugenthaft*, a description which does not quite fit the known historical personality, but which is appropriate for the loving widow who wants to see her husband rehabilitated.

These two poems of parting which both describe the effects of the dissolution of a permanent and meaningful relationship make complementary statements about this experience. Hartmann's poem deals primarily with the resulting isolation of the woman and thereby with the future. Reinmar's poem looks, largely for political reasons, back on a past and gives a positive picture of the relationship between husband and wife. With it the poem makes an interesting and cultural-historically important statement about the status and development of aristrocratic marriages.

The poems' appeal to the public differs according to their content. The central aim of Hartmann's poem seems to be to concentrate on the woman's desolation and thereby to honour the deceased while simultaneously inspiring sympathy for his widow. Reinmar's poem appeals basically to the same feelings but it put its emphases in different places. Its main purpose is to achieve a measure of rehabilitation for the dead duke. As such the description of his public and private qualities appears at the centre of the work. The listeners' emotions are therefore not so much directed towards a consideration of the widow's fate as enlisted into her lament for the deceased. This also means, in the last instance, a difference in the perception of the status of the woman herself. Hartmann's protagonist deserves the listeners' sympathies but in her isolation she has become insignificant; Helene, on the other hand, who has suffered similarly, carries authority into her widowhood through the description of her closeness with her husband. There she will not only receive the protestations of the court's sympathies but because of it she also is invested with the aura of a woman who expects, at least to a degree, to keep her position of importance and influence.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has attempted to show the many variations of the image of the courtly *frouwe* within those songs in which she appears as a protagonist. From the discussions of individual poems several interesting points have emerged.

The first chapter, which discusses the early dialogue songs, shows that the differentiation between the protagonists' characters was initially not the poets' most important concern, as is indicated by the frequent difficulty of attributing the stanzas to the correct speakers. Many of these poems concentrate instead on the lovers' frustrated desire for a meeting which is not observed by the *merkaere*.

The situation changes, however, once the lovers face each other in a real dialogue. The earliest example of such a confrontation is to be found in Dietmar von Eist's *Wart ane wandel ie kein wip* (MF 40,19-41,6). The leap in the evolution of the representation of the woman is not only made obvious by her ability to mark out her own character by the development of thought which she displays within the dialogue but also by her handling of her relationship to the public. The introduction of erotic humour, which recurs in later dialogue songs, adds a whole new dimension to the possible representations of the woman, while at the same time making the critic aware of her position between the lover and the listening public.

The insight into the diverse images of the woman is further extended through Reinmar's and Walther's different techniques and aims. Reinmar's main interest in the creation of his characters seems to stem from a liking for sophisticated intellectual games. His self-stylisation as a always unrequited lover betrays not a faint and almost sick mind but derives from his strong pleasure in the systematic intellectual exploration of a chosen problem. Although the character of his female protagonists can only be expressed within a particular concept of thought, the description of their psychological situation is nevertheless based on observed and intelligible human behaviour.

Such strength of character combined with a very specific self-stylisation is also obvious in Walther's handling of the love-relationships but with a quite different purpose and result. Although the women in both dialogue poems win the argument, they are not really memorable. This is because Walther creates his characters not for an abstract purpose but in order to present and plead his own case.

The two dialogue chapters reveal besides the individuality of the women's characters also a network of complex reasons for these variations. Their

underlying common characteristic remains on the other hand the poets' concern with the representation and establishment of a true human relationship.

The dawn-song chapter undertakes a similar exploration, but it does so within the bounds of a defined literary genre. Its eventual purpose is in part to follow the development of the representation of the image of women from a potentially tragic to a comic situation. Simultaneously the chapter also indicates, and that adds to the network of complexities, that the evolving differences in the depiction of the woman are not solely due to generic reasons but are also involved with the poets' desire for psychological plausibility. Or in other words, the image of the woman undergoes change because of the increased liking for tales of sexually successful relationships.

The final chapter approaches the inquiry into the relationship between the sexes and its resulting literary variation of the female protagonist through the observation of the lyric response to a real-life situation. The women of these poems evolve from supporters of the crusading movement to its critics. Additionally the chapter also looks at the position of the woman at the moment of her loss of her partner and makes evident the large degree to which her position depends on being desired by a man.

In this way each of the chapters studies and elucidates the form and poosible reasons for the variations in the depiction of the woman. Beyond the limits of each chapter, this inquiry also tries to show that the many different representations of the woman are always based on a believable observation of human character. The insights into human behaviour are so overwhelming that it might be suggested that our ideas about the compositional techniques of courtly Minnesang need rethinking. Instead of setting out from the idea of a courtly *frouwe* which is then varied according to different situations, it seems more likely that courtly poets, like writers of all ages, first of all observed life; and only when writing their poetry did they then fit their knowledge into a formal concept of representation. The result is that the women remain despite their accepted role-play very individual and credible beings.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. To name only a few: Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate. A history of women in the Middle Ages*, London/New York 1983; Derek Baker (ed), *Medieval Women*, Oxford 1978; Julius Kirchner/Suzanne F. Wemple, *Women of the Medieval World*, Oxford 1987; Sybylle Harksen, *Die Frau im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1974.

2. See for this Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate*, p. 128.

3. Ibidem, p. 128.

4. Ibidem, p. 127.

5. See for this the recent biography by Régine Pernoud, *Königin der Troubadoure, Eleonore von Aquitanien*, München 1986.

6. See Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate*, p. 150.

7. See Eileen Power, *Medieval Women*, Cambridge 1975, p. 45.

8. See Margaret Wade Labarge, *A Baronial Household in the Thirteenth Century*, Brighton 1980, in particular pp. 38-52.

9. See Sybylle Harksen, *Die Frau im Mittelalter*, p. 41.

10. Ibidem, p. 41.

11. Ibidem, p. 11.

12. See Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate*, p. 89.

13. See for this Joachim Bumke, *Mäzene im Mittelalter, Die Gönner und Auftraggeber der höfischen Literatur in Deutschland 1150-1300*, München 1979, pp. 233-247, and also his account of women's patronage in *Höfische Kultur*, (2 Vols.), München 1986, pp. 668-670. See also John F. Benton, "The Court of Champagne as a literary center", *Speculum*, 36, 1961, pp. 551-591.

14. See Joachim Bumke's studies as mentioned in note 13.

15. See Gerhart Hahn, *Walther von der Vogelweide*, München/ Zürich 1986, p. 32.

16. See Joachim Bumke's chapter on "Höfische Liebe" in *Höfische Kultur*, pp. 503-582, and Rüdiger Schnell, *Causa Amoris, Liebeskonzeption und Liebesdarstellung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Bern/ München 1985.

17. See Günther Schweikle, " Die *frouwe* der Minnesänger. Zu Realitätsgehalt und Ethos des Minnesangs im 12. Jahrhundert", in Hans Fromm (ed), *Der deutsche MInnesang II*, Darmstadt 1985, (Wege der Forschung 608), pp. 238-272, in particular p. 240: " Ein Großteil unseres Wissens um höfisches Leben und ritterliches Sein um 1200 ist weitgehend aus der epischen Kunstwelt bezogen. Von Historikern auf Grund literarhistorischer Daten ausgewertet, wird es dann von Literarhistorikern von jenen in ihre Darstellungen als vermeintlich historisch gesicherte Fakten zurüchgeholt."

18. For a longer discussion of this issue see chapter one, note 9 and chapter three, note 25.

19. The existing poems are of course only part of the originally created corpus of songs. There can be no certainty about the number of poems which went missing over the centuries.

20. See Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage. Two models from Twelfth-Century France*, Baltimore/ London 1978, pp. 1-12 and pp. 62-65.

21. See Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur*, pp. 706-707.

CHAPTER ONE

1. For an older full-length study of the Wechsel which gives accounts of the content of single poems see: Adolar Angermann, *Der Wechsel in der mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik*, Diss. Marburg 1910; for a more recent definition see: Olive Sayce, *The Medieval German Lyric 1150-1300*, Oxford 1982, p. 482 and also pp. 23-24.

2. For further reference see: Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur*, (2 Vols.), München 1986, p. 596.

3. All references to MF derive, unless otherwise stated, from H. Moser, H. Tervooren, *Des Minnesangs Frühling, Texte und Erläuterungen*,, (2 Vols.), Stuttgart 1977.

4. For further comments on the MS tradition and the unity of the two stanzas see also: Günther Schweikle, *Die Mittelhochdeutsche Minnelyrik, I Die Frühe Minnelyrik*, Darmstadt 1977, p. 376.

5. Concerning the question of the authenticity of the stanzas as poems by Dietmar von Eist, I am here following the arguments put forward by Günther Schweikle, *Minnelyrik*, pp. 392-394

6. Although there is argument for the attribution of this poem to Dietmar von Eist, it is necessary to point out that MS B lists the song under Reinmar's name.

7. Der von Kürenberg's four-line stanzas follow each other in MS C, but their inner relationship to each other is not yet entirely clear. Stanzas one and two are often regarded as a Wechsel.

8. The interpretation of the relationship between the poet/literary text and the public's enjoyment shares some important points with Hans-Robert Jauss's theory of the *Erwartungshorizont*. For further reference see: Hans-Robert Jauss, *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation*, Frankfurt am Main 1970, pp. 173-207

9. *diu huote* is a technical term which is identical with *merkaere*. It designates that group of potential lovers who jealously try to prevent the development of an intimate and special relationship between two particular individuals. In a more general sense it means the whole courtly society.

10. The first of these two songs appears in MF within that corpus of poems which are supposed to be by Dietmar himself; the second within the large collection of poems merely attributed to the poet.

11. For a different interpretation of this stanza see: GÜnther Schweikle, *Minnelyrik*, p. 396.

12. The reasons for this are outlined by amongst others Joachim Bumke, *Mäzene im Mittelalter*, München 1979, p. 126 where he writes: "Seine [Kaiser Heinrichs] Lieder wirken allerdings altertÜmlicher als das, was noch zu Lebzeiten seines Vaters gedichtet wurde. Man nimmt deswegen an, daß sie schon vor seinem Regierungsantritt im Jahre 1190 entstanden sind."

13. *nidere* is a synonym for *diu huote*, see note 9.

14. For an extensive description of Hausen's position at the Staufer court see Joachim Bumke, *Mäzene* ..., pp. 126-127.

15. The underlinings are mine.

16. For a longer discussion of the lovers' obligation towards each other see Christiane Leube-Fey, *Bild und Funktion der dompna in der Lyrik der Trobadors*, (Studia Romanica, 21. Heft), Heidelberg 1971, pp. 86-89; in particular p. 87: "Beide Partner sind dabei den gleichen Bedingungen in bezug auf Aufwand und Belohnung unterworfen. Der Trobador kann bei seiner Dame also auf Belohnung seiner Dienste drängen und, wenn sie negativ darauf reagiert, sie verlassen und sich eine neue Herrin, d. h. eine bessere Vertragspartnerin, suchen."

17. This song appears in MF as the last of the attributed poems.

18. An entirely innocent time of physical contact can be imagined. For two interesting examples which both seem to suggest such an innocent meeeting

see Reinmar XV (MF 166, 16), stanza six, and possibly Reinmar VII (MF 156, 27), stanza five, where the term *tore* recurs. For the theoretical discussion of sexually unfulfilled love see Andreas Cappellanus' discussion on *amor purus* in P. G. Walsh (ed.), *Andreas Cappellanus' On Love*, London 1982, p. 181 and also p. 20. Rüdiger Schnell, *Causa Amoris, Liebeskonzeption und Liebesdarstellung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, München/Bern 1985 refers in this context to Charles Champroux account of the practice of *amor purus*; see p. 83, reference 360: "Ch. Champroux's, [*Le joy d'amor des troubadour*, Montpellier 1965] S. 157-171, bringt die Tatsache, daß Trobadors oft vom Betrachten der nackten Geliebten bzw. vom Liegen neben der Geliebten sprechen, aber nie von der sexuellen Vereinigung, mit der Askese Roberts von Arbrissel in Verbindung, der sich ja selbst die harte Prüfung auferlegte, indem er mit Frauen sein Bett teilte, ohne sie zu berühren."

19. See note above.

20. See for this meaning in particular the reference for *tore* (noun to toricht) in Georg Benecke, Wilhelm Müller, Friedrich Zarnke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, (3 Vols.), Hildesheim 1963, Vol. 3 p. 51; there are several loci which refer to an equation between the term *Narr* and the word *Kind* (= Unverständigkeit)

21. This is a translation suggested by Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, (3 Vol.), Leipzig 1876, p. 1465.

22. See for this Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*, Stuttgart 1976, p. 226 which translates *toreht vrouwen* as "feile Dirnen". See also Günther Schweikle, *Minnelyrik*, p. 407.

23. "Höfische Liebe war ein gesellschaftlicher Wert, der sich in der Praktizierung höfischer Tugenden und in der Beachtung höfischer Umgangsformen verwirklichte. Höfische Liebe war die Liebe eines Menschen, der nach höfischer Vollkommenheit strebte." See Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur*, p. 525.

24. Hansjörg Koch's article "Zu Dietmar von Eist MF 40, 19ff", *Beiträge 61*, 1937, pp. 180-181, points to a sexual interpretation of this poem but approaches the problem from a different and debatable angle.

25. The German politeness of language in respect of the sexual sphere is in marked contrast to the Provençal tradition which from its known beginning included very explicit descriptions of sexual love. William IX's burlesque poetry constitutes a famous example of this explicit style.

26. See Dr. A. A. Brill (ed.), "Wit and its relation to the Unconcious", Book IV pp. 663-803, *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, New York 1938.

27. ibidem p. 695.

28. ibidem p. 735.

CHAPTER TWO

1. The reasons for this are not quite clear, but it might well be that the Romance influence which was important for the poets immediately following Dietmar was one significant factor. Olive Sayce links Reinmar's interest in the Wechsel with his distance from the Romance influence; see Olive Sayce, *The Medieval German Lyric*, p. 149.

2. The idea that love enters into the body through the eyes is an old and often used topos which already occurs in Ovid's *De amore*. A very clear example of this image appears in Heinrich von Morungen:

si kam her dur diu ganzen ougen
sunder tür gegangen. (MF 127, 7).

3. See stanza two, line 2 (MF 198, 17).

4. See MF, p. 287 Note 2, 2.

5. See Günther Schweikle, *Reinmar, Lieder, Mittelhochdeutsch/ Neuhochdeutsch*, Stuttgart 1986, p. 79.

6. For the image of the *Kaiser* and its other uses in contemporary Minnesang see Günther Schweikle, *Reinmar*, p. 310.

7. The educational function of the lady can only be fulfilled if she does not single out a particular man as her lover but holds her love out as a promise to the whole of the courtly society. This is why the *huote* has to watch over her virtue.

8. These songs are: 1. the messenger-song *Sage, daz ich dirs iemer lone* (MF 171, 10-177, 39); 2. the dawn-song *So ez iener nahet deme tage* (MF 154, 32-156, 9); and 3. the song of parting *War kan iuwer schoener lip* (MF 195, 37-196, 34).

9. See Chapter one, note 16.

10. See for this MF p. 334, note 2, which specifies that Reinmar deliberately uses legal terms here.

11. The Kürenberg stanza *Ich stuont mir nehtint spate an einer zinnen* (MF 8, 1) indicates a sexually rather more forceful picture of the woman than that usually associated with the courtly *frouwe*.

12. See Mathias Lexer, *Taschenwörterbuch*, p. 128: " lip[...]; leib, körper, (häufig bezeichnet *lip* geradezu person,...).

13. For further discussion of this image see Erika Kohler, *Liebeskrieg, Zur Bildsprache der höfischen Dichtung*, Stuttgart/Berlin 1935, pp. 54-56.

14. See Günther Schweikle, *Reinmar*, pp. 15-27.

15. MF 1. no. 152, 15 -8 B, 10 C, 337 E
2. no. 151, 33 -7 (vv. 1-6) B, 9 (vv. 1-6) C, 335 E
3. no. 152, 5 -6 B, 8 C, 336 E
4. no. 154, 24 -7 (vv. 7-10) B, 9 (vv. 7-10) C, 338 E

There is a printing error in MF p. 288 which lists the stanzas of MS E as 3, 1, 2, 4 while they in fact are as indicated above.

16. See Dieter Fortmann, *Studien zur Gestaltung der Lieder Heinrichs von Morungen*, Tübingen 1966, p. 25, note 3 ; also Friedrich Neumann, "Rezension zu Karl von Kraus, Des Minesangs Frühling, Untersuchungen, Leipzig 1939. Karl von Kraus, Des Minnesangs Frühling, Leipzig 1940.", *Göttinger Gelehrten Anzeigen*, 1944, no. 1-2, p. 38.

17. Although this rule is in the woman's Abgesang circumvented for a special reason which will become clear in the following.

18. See William E. Jackson, *Reinmar's Women, A study of the Woman's song ("Frauenlied und Frauenstrophe of Reinmar der Alte")*, Amsterdam 1981, pp. 227-235.

19. For further discussion of the relationship between the *juvenes* and *seniores* see Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage, Two Models from Twelfth-Century France*, Baltimore/London 1978, pp. 1-12 and 62-65; also Jeffrey Ashcroft, "'Als ein wilder valk erzogen', Minnesang und höfische Sozialisation", *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*, 1989 (forthcoming).

20. The elderly woman who has lost her physical attractions becomes ridiculous if she tries to participate in the games of the young. Reinmar frequently plays with the age of his lady and of himself. This play is reflected in the reference to *langes swigen* in Walther's parodic *sumerlaten* song (L. 72, 31).

21. See Note 15 for the sequence of stanzas.

22. For the sake of simplicity this structural unit will in the following be referred to as Aufgesang, although this is terminologically not quite correct.

23. My underlinings.

24. My underlinings.

25. See for this note 22.

26. For further discussion of the intellectual education of the aristocracy see Joahim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur*, p. 435: "Nur die zur Nachfolge in der Königsherrschaft bestimmten Prinzen sind auch literarisch ausgebildet worden; ihre Lehrer waren in der Regel Mitglieder der Hofkapelle." For the closeness between clerical education and poetical profession see also Joachim Bumke, *Mäzene*, pp. 68-72. There is also the possibility that Reinmar himself had received some clerical education; see for this Jeffrey Ashcroft, "'Venus Clerk': Reinmar in the 'Carmina Burana'", *Modern Language Review*, 77, 1982, pp. 618-628. For intellectual games with form and content see the discussion of Dietmar von Eist's Wechsel *Wart ane wandel ie kein wip* (MF 40, 15-41, 6). That the public enjoyed such complicated forms can be shown through the example of the Provençal *sestina*.

27. As there is no certainty about the chronology of Reinmar's lyrics, it cannot be ascertained at what point in his career he created this song.

28. See MF *Ergänzungen*, p. 106.

29. GÜnther Schweikle has even gone so far as drawing up a table of the various possibilities, see MF *Ergänzungen*, p. 107.

30. Some of the stanzas also appear in other places; notably MS C^1 stanzas 250 and 251; also MS C, stanzas 14 and 19; and MS B, stanza 13.

31. This will be referred to in the following according to the MSS as stanza three.

32. See for examples MF 153, 14; 159, 1; 170, 36.

33. See William E. Jackson, *Reinmar's Women*, pp. 309-311.

34. This does not necessarily imply feelings of personal animosity. As Silvia Rawanake has already argued, Walther was certainly not fond of Reinmar the artist but his own lyrical work is more obviously an argument with general themes of the Minnesang than a particular and unfriendly contest with Reinmar. See "Gab es eine Reinmarfehde? Zu der These von Walthers Wendung gegen die Konvention der hohen Minne", *Oxford German Studies*, 1982, pp. 3-35.

35. MSS A^2 and C^1 list it among songs by Walther von der Vogelweide.

36. For text see *Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide*. Herausgegeben von Karl Lachmann. Dreizehnte, aufgrund der zehnten, von Carl von Kraus bearbeiteten Ausgabe, neu herausgegeben von Hugo Kuhn. Berlin 1965, IV, 111, 22.

37. ibidem III, 85, 34.

38. There is unfortunately no space within this study for such a lengthy and difficult undertaking.

39. For further discussion of Walther's delight in role-play see Jeffrey Ashcroft, "Min trutgeselle von der Vogelweide, Parodie und Maskenspiel bei Walther", *Euphorion* 69, 1975, pp. 197-218.

40. See note 36.

41. See Joerg Schaefer, *Walther von der Vogelweide, Werke*, Darmstadt 1972. He lists three other examples which can be discounted here. The song on

p. 124 is not a dialogue in the real sense, as we learn nothing about the position and character of the man. His stanzas serve only as a springboard for the woman's description of the ideal lover. The poem on p. 198 is not a discussion between lovers. Schaefer also includes on p. 212 the song *Sit mir din niht mer werden mac* but lists it as an apocryphal song.

42. See Theodor Frings, "Walthers Gespräche (1954)", in Siegfried Beyschlag (ed.), *Walther von der Vogelweide*, Wege der Forschung 112, Darmstadt 1971, p. 420-430.

43. For further discussion of the German tradition see Silvia Ranawake, "Gab es eine Reinmar Fehde? ", pp. 7-35.

44. Compare with the discussion of Dietmar von Eist's *Wart ane wandel ie kein wip* (MF 40, 19-41, 6), pp. 15ff.

45. See Erich Kleinschmidt, "Minnesang als höfische Zeremonialhandlung (1976)", in Hans Fromm (ed.), *Der deutsche Minnesang II*, Darmstadt 1985, p. 145.

46. It was an important part of the woman's task to have a civilising effect on the knight. See Dietmar von Eist MF 38, 32.

47. Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur*, p. 452: "In der körperlichen Schönheit offenbarte sich die innere Tugendhaftigkeit der Frau. Die Minnesänger feierten 'alle ihre guten Eigenschaften und ihre Schönheit', 'ihre Schönheit und ihre Güte. Die Harmonie von Schönheit und moralischer Vollkommenheit war ein wesentlicher Aspekt des höfischen Frauenbildes.'"

48. Konrad Burdach, *Reinmar der Alte und Walther von der Vogelweide*, Halle 1928, pp. 148-149; also Wolfgang Bachofen, "Zur Wandlung des Minnebegriffes bei Walther", in *Festgabe für Ulrich Pretzel*, Berlin 1963, p. 144.

49. Wolfgang Mohr, "Minnesang als Gesellschaftskunst", in Hans Fromm (ed.), *Der deutsche Minnesang II*, p. 202: "Der gute Ritter ehrte alle guten Frauen, aber einer einzigen strebt er seinen Dienst zu widmen. [...] schon als *dienstman* einer Dame anerkant zu werden, bedeutet dem Ritter viel. Hatte er es erreicht, so muß er treu, stet, ohne Wanken im Dienst

verharren. Er muß warten können und Enttäuschungen ertragen lernen; rascher Erfolg schließt Minne aus."

50. Compare here Reinmar's statement *stirbet si, so bin ich tot.* (MF 158,28).

51. See p. 43.

52. For further discussion of this subject see Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society* (2 Vols), London 1978, pp. 233-236.

53. Ibidem, p. 235; unfortunately Marc Bloch does not give a line-reference for this translation of a passage from the *Couronnement de Louis.*

54. My underlinings.

55. The relationship has already suffered from repeated instances of unfaithfulness by the man, as stanza one shows. It is also clear that the man knows of his lady's disapproval. The claim that she has never instructed him as regards the right and proper behaviour is at least as far as this point is concerned not accurate.

56. His sex is made clear in stanza three when the woman addresses him as *geselle* (MF 177,22).

57. For this image see Erika Kohler, *Liebeskrieg*, p. 6.

58. See the discussion of this question by Günther Schweikle, *Minnelyrik*, p. 562.

59. See stanza four lines 3-4.

60. Walther's poem is based on the *tenzone*, while Albrecht von Johansdorf's dialogue is believed to be a contrafactum of a Romance model. This contrafactum only influences the form of the poem, it has no relation to its content.

CHAPTER THREE

1. See Dietmar Rieger, "Zur Stellung des Tageliedes in der Trobadorlyrik", *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 87, 1971, pp. 223-232; for further definitions of the dawn-song and its relationship to other courtly genres see Ulrich Müller, "Die mittelhochdeutsche Lyrik", in Heinz Bergner (ed.) *Lyrik des Mittelalters, Probleme und Interpretationen*, (2 Vol.), Stuttgart 1983, 2. vol. pp. 93-107.

2. See Leonard Forster, *The Icy Fire*, Cambridge 1969, pp. 84-121.

3. See Günther Schweikle, *Minnelyrik*, p. 392ff.

4. For text and German translation see Dietmar Rieger, *Mittelalterliche Lyrik Frankreichs I, Lieder der Trobadors*, Stuttgart 1980, pp. 138-141.

5. See for this Alois Wolf's study of Dietmar's dawn-song in *Variation und Integration, Beobachtungen zu hochmittelalterlichen Tageliedern*, Darmstadt 1979, pp. 27-29.

6. See ibidem p. 17.

7. Günther Jungbluth's correction of the second line which is questioned by Günther Schweikle, *Minnelyrik*, p. 404, contributes nothing significant to this particular problem. Indeed Jungbluth opposes the assumption of an appearance of a watchman-figure in this poem: "Es erschein mir ganz einfach nicht glaubhaft, daß nach der Aufnahme und Verwertung des Wächtermotives ein Lied in der Art von *Dietmars Tagelied* noch möglich gewesen sein sollte - oder auch anders gesagt: daß sich der Dichter diesem Motiv hätte entschlagen können." p. 124. For further details see Günther Jungbluth, "Zu Dietmars Tagelied", *Festgabe für Ulrich Pretzel*, Berlin 1963, pp. 118-127.

8. My underlinings.

9. The MS has it as *min vriundin*.

10. This term has here as elsewhere in the courtly lyric an erotic connotation.

11. For discussion and further examples of the 'veni-formula' see Theodor Frings, *Die Anfänge der europäischen Liebesdichtung im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*, München 1960 (Bay. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsberichte 1960/2), pp. 12ff.

12. See Ch. 3, note 4.

13. This formula also appears elsewhere, but it is particularly noticeable in the *canso de la mal-marida*.

14. For a more detailed discussion of this motif see Dietmar Rieger, "Die altprovenzalische Lyrik", in Heinz Bergner (ed.), *Lyrik des Mittelalters, Probleme und Interpretationen*, (2 Vol), Stuttgart 1983, 1. vol. p. 284.

15. See Ch. 1, note 25.

16. See for further discussion Wolfgang Mohr, "Vortragsform und Form als Symbol im mittelalterlichen Lied (1963)", in Hans Fromm, (ed.), *Der Deutsche Minnesang II*, Darmstadt 1985, pp. 211-225, in particular pp. 216-221.

17. For a longer but in places questionable discussion about the relationship between courtly lyric and erotic alba see Leonard Forster, *The Icy Fire*, in particular pp. 85-86, where he states: "The courtly alba is a splendidly contrived device for dealing with sexual intercourse between lovers of equal - that is, courtly - social status in a discreet manner. [...], so that the only way in which its consummation [that of physical love] may be treated is one which concentrates attention not on the night of love [(...)] but on the lament of the lovers [...]. The safety valve for repressed sensual desires has been found and maintained on a courtly level and integrated into the convention."

18. See for a longer discussion of the effect of this device Peter Wapnewski, "Morungens Tagelied", *Waz ist minne, Studien zur Mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik*, München 1975, p. 71.

19. See for further details MF *Ergänzungen*, p. 108.

20. See Albrecht Hagenlocher, "Das 'Tagelied' Reinmar's des Alten (MF 154,32). Zur Umwandlung einer literarischen Form", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 96, 1977, pp. 76-89. For a discussion of variations of the *alba* which might bear some relationship to Reinmar's handling of the form see Dietmar Rieger, "Zur Stellung des Tageliedes in der Trobadorlyrik". There is, of course, a problem with the concept of the variation of the dawn-song form here, as Reinmar's song is only the third transmitted German dawn-song. But as Arthur Hatto's *Eos. An inquiry into the Theme of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry*, London/Den Haag/Paris 1965, has shown, this form of poetry is universal and occurs at all times.

21. See Albrecht Hagenlocher, ibidem.

22. See Wolfgang Mohr, "Spiegelungen des Tageliedes", *Mediaevalia litteraria, Festschrift für Helmut de Boor*, München 1971, pp.

23. My underlinings; the term *komen* is here meant in its literal sense as well as part of the expression *ze helfe komen*.

24. See Albrecht Hagenlocher, "Das Tagelied Reinmar's", p. 80.

25. For a short but fairly comprehensive study of this topic see Joachim Bumke, "Liebe und Ehe in der höfischen Gesellschaft", in R. Krohn, (ed.), *Liebe als Literatur*, München 1983, pp. 25-45. This is, of course, only a fictional relationship, but adultery by women was often severely punished, a particularly infamous case being that of Heinrich von Bayern (1256). For further discussion of this issue and reference to Heinrich von Bayern see Günther Schweikle, "Die *frouwe* der Minnesänger", Hans Fromm (ed.), *Der deutsche Minnesang II*, Darmstadt 1985, pp. 238-272, in particular p. 244.

26. For text used see Chapter two note 36.

27. For a detailed discussion of the critical reception of this song see John A. Asher, "Das Tagelied Walthers von der Vogelweide, Ein parodistisches Kunstwerk", in *Festschrift für Helmut de Boor zum 80. Geburtstag*, München 1971, pp. 279-286.

28. See Alois Wolf, *Variation und Integration*, pp. 103-117.

29. See Theodor Frings - Elisabeth Linke, "Walthers Tagelied", in *Festschrift für Hennig Brinkmann*, Düsseldorf 1961, (Wirkendes Wort 3, Sonderheft), pp. 3-7.

30. John A. Asher, "Das Tagelied Walters", pp. 279-286.

31. For full description of the *tenzone* see C. Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie, mit Abriss der Formenlehre und Glossar*, Leipzig 1930, reprint Geneva 1974, p. 199.

32. See Erich Köhler, "Zur Entstehung des altprovenzalischen Streitgedichtes", *Trobadorlyrik und höfischer Roman*, Berlin 1962, pp. 153-192 and also *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, Vol. II, *Les Genres Lyriques*, T. I, Fascicules 5, Heidelberg 1979, pp. 1-15.

33. See Erich Köhler, "Zur Entstehung des altprovenzalischen Streitgedichtes", p. 190.

34. See stanza VI, l. 68.

35. See stanza III, l. 29.

36. For this idea see in particular Dietmar von Eist's dawn-song *Slafest du, vriedel ziere* (MF 39, 18).

37. See John A. Asher, "Das Tagelied Walthers", p. 281: "Ich bin der Meinung, daß das Lied humoristisch gemeint ist als eine mimisch vorgetragene Parodie,... ".

38. Although Arthur T. Hatto's collection of dawn-songs has shown that the genre is a universally existent model of parting songs, they do not conform to the specific courtly model which is of sole interest here. For further reference to Hatto's werk see note 20.

39. For text see Karl Bartsch, *Schweizer Minnesänger*, Frauenfeld 1964 (reprint), pp. 30-32.

40. For an explanation of this epithet and explanatory biography see Max Schiendorfer, *Ulrich von Singenberg, Walther und Wolfram, Zur Parodie in der höfischen Literatur*, Bonn 1983, p. 338.

41. This is, of course the refrain of Walther's famous *Unter der linden* (L. 39, 11).

42. My underlinings.

43. My underlinings.

44. For similar examples see Wolfgang Mohr, "Vortragsform und Form als Symbol im mittelalterlichen Liede", in Hans Fromm (ed.), *Der deutsche Minnesang II*, Darmstadt 1985, pp. 211-225.

45. Helmut de Boor puts his life-span between 1170-1220. See Helmut de Boor/Richard Newald, *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur*, (7 Vol.), Vol II, München 1953, p. 90; for a more recent discussion of the poet's life which although mainly concerned with his social and economic circumstances seems to assume a slightly later date, see Gerdt Rohrbach, *Studien zur Erforschung des deutschen Tageliedes, Ein Sozialgeschichtlicher Beitrag*, Göppingen 1986, pp. 83-99. Both critics see Wolfram as belonging to the generation just before Ulrich von Singenberg.

46. The following critics amongst others have concerned themselves with Wolfram's dawn-song: Wolfgang Mohr, "Wolframs Tagelieder", *Festschrift Paul Kluckhohn und Hermann Schneider*, Tübingen 1948, pp. 148-165; Gerdt Rohrbach, *Studien zur Erforschung des deutschen Tageliedes*, pp. 43-99; Jonathan Seville, *The Medieval Erotic Alba*, Columbia 1973. For the fullest study of this question together with bibliography see Peter Wapnewski, *Die Lyrik Wolframs von Eschenbach*, München 1972.

47. The watchman does not figure in the song *Ez ist nu tac* (MF 7, 14-9, 3) and in *Der helden minne* (MF 5, 34-6, 10). For a discussion of the latter song see the studies listed in note 46.

48. Its full name 'Die Münchner Parzival Handschrift' indicates that this MS is devoted to Wolfram.

49. Peter Wapnewski comments here: "I, 6: *gesellschaft* hat im Mittelhochdeutschen keine soziologische sondern eine erotische Bedeutungskomponente (II, 10: geselle)." See Peter Wapnewski, *Die Lyrik Wolframs*, p. 105.

50. See Alois Wolf, *Variation und Integration*, p. 126.

51. Wolfgang Mohr writes in his article on "Wolframs Tagelieder" on p. 156 about the first woman's stanza: "Die Frau vernimmt seine Stimme [that of the watchman] nicht nur wie etwas, das von draußen her kommt, sondern von innen her und immer wieder, wie die Stimme des Gewissens [(...)], und sie wehrt sich gegen sein hartnäckiges Mahnen, wie man sich gegen sein Gewissen wehrt. Der irreale Wechseldialog zwischen dem Freund auf dem Turm und der Frau in der Kammer wird so gleichsam zum Zeichen für das Gespräch der mahnenden und beschwichtigenden Stimme im Herzen." This applies as much to the first stanza as it does to the second.

52. This reminds Wolfgang Mohr interestingly enough of Heinrich von Morungen's dawn-song, ibidem, p. 107.

53. See note 49.

54. My underlinings.

55. This expression is an interesting parallel to Heinrich von Morungen's controversial lines: *so wolt er sunder wat/ min arme schouwen bloz.* (MF 144, 13-144, 14).

56. For text see Carl von Kraus, *Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1978, p. 586.

57. Such a description occurs most often in the objective genres, but it can also introduce a Minnelied.

58. For text of the dawn-song see Carl von Kraus, *Liederdichter*, pp. 473-474; for the text of the dawn-song together with its narrative stanzas see Gerdt Rohrbach, *Studien zur Erforschung des mittelhochdeutschen Tageliedes*, pp. 193-196.

59. Olive Sayce writes: "There is one manuscript of the whole *Frauendienst* (L), and manuscript C contains all the poems, [...]. This in itself suggests that the poems could be easily detached from the narrative and may well have circulated separately." See Olive Sayce, *The Medieval German Lyric*, p. 302.

60. Extending from stanza 1621-1632.

61. See stanzas 2-4 of the dawn-song.

62. See Ch. 2 note 2; other comparable examples occur in Reinmar (MF 194, 18) and Heinrich von Morungen (MF 127, 1).

63. The comedy of this passage depends admittedly in part on the form of the recital.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. See Peter Hölzle, *Die Kreuzzüge in der okzitanischen und deutschen Lyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts*, (2 Vols), Göppingen 1980.

2. See ibidem p. 103.

3. See Ulrich Müller, "Tendenzen und Formen. Versuch über mittelhochdeutsche Kreuzzugsdichtung", in: *'Getempert und Gemischet' für Wolfgang Mohr zum 65. Geburtstag*, Göppingen 1972, pp. 251-280, in particular p. 252. There is, of course, much discussion about the appropriate definition of "Glaubenskrieg", as for example the expedition against the "Stedinger Peasants" was declared a crusade although it did not really involve a religious issue.

4. For text see Carl v. Kraus, *Liederdichter*, p. 250.

5. For the German lyric the most important expeditions were 1189-1192 (3rd Crusade), 1196-1197 ("The German Expedition"), 1202-1204 (4th Crusade), 1218-1221 (Expedition against Damietta), 1228-1229 (5th Crusade).

6. See Martin Erbstösser, *The Crusades*, Leipzig 1978; it is, of course, difficult to quantify the exact degree of their influence. For further discussion of this topic see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were The Crusades?*, London 1977, p. 62.

7. As Hartmann is not mentioned in any official documents his life-span can also not be dated with certainty. The most frequently quoted assumption is that he was writing between about 1180-1200. Its is therefore not clear to which crusading expedition his work refers. See Olive Sayce, *The Medieval German Lyric*, pp. 158ff.

8. The missing stanza of MS B appears in this MS nineteen stanzas later.

9. A particularly poignant exploitation of the topic of the *strit* occurs in Reinmar's *Laze ich minen dienest so* (MF 171, 32-172, 22).

10. Compare MF 46,31 and MF 47,3.

11. This French knight and poet wrote songs to appeal for a crusade, but he then either did not follow his own call or returned very early. He was treated with contempt for this by Huon III d'Oisi in his song *Maugré tous sainz et maugré Dieu aussi.*

12. See Günther Schweikle, *Minnelyrik*, pp. 491-496.

13. See Ulrich Müller, "Friedrich von Hausen und der 'sumer von Triere' (MF 47,38)", *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, Vol 90 (Sonderheft), Berlin 1971, pp. 107-132; this is also Günther Schweikle's preferred interpretation, see note 12.

14. See Ulrich Müller, ibidem, p. 112 note no. 24.

15. See Ulrich Müller, ibidem, p. 113.

16. See Matthias Lexer, *Taschenwörterbuch*, p. 233.

17. See Matthias Lexer, ibidem, p. 75.

18. See also *Si darf mich des zihen niet* (MF 45,9) stanza III, lines 5-7.

19. See Peter Hölzle, *Kreuzzüge*, p. 196.

20. See Ulrich Müller, "Die mittelhochdeutsche Lyrik", p. 124.

21. Two particularly popular stories which describe a violent storm suffice here: see Jonah and the whale, Jonah, Ch. I, and Jesus and his disciples on Lake Galilee, Matt. VII, 23-25.

22. See Peter Hölzle, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. 236.

23. See Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, p. 44. Here Duby discusses applications for divorce which arose from the unfaithfulness of wives while their husbands were on crusade.

24. It is not entirely clear to what stanza III, line 9 refers. Opinions as to its interpretation include an allusion to the battle of Hattin and the subsequent loss of Jerusalem (1187) and to a great famine in 1195/96. For further discussion see Günther Schweikle, *Minnelyrik*, p. 554.

25. For the text of Botenlauben's song see Carl von Kraus, *Liederdichter*, p. 314

26. See stanza II, lines 6 and 7.

27. See Peter Hölzle, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. 216.

28. Günther Schweikle understands the text as two single stanzas songs. For further details see Günther Schweikle, *Minnelyrik*, pp. 348 and 563-564.

29. The verb *geleisten* means "ein Gebot erfüllen, eine Pflicht leisten", see Matthias Lexer, *Taschenwörterbuch*, p. 124.

30. For an annotated text with translation and full commentary see F. Pirot, "'A la fontana del vergier' du troubadour Marcabru, édition, traduction et notes", in: *Mélanges offerts à P. Imbs*, Strasbourg 1973, pp. 621-642.

31. This figure of the poet is, of course, not identical with the historical Marcabru, but is solely a literary pose.

32. See G. Hatcher, "Marcabru's 'A la fontana del vergier'", *Modern Language Notes* 79, 1964, pp. 284-295. For German translation see Dietmar Rieger, *Lyrik der Trobadors*, 57-59.

33. The image of the suffering cross implies here the memory of the crucifixion of Christ and the more recent conquest of the Holy Places by the heathens. See for further details G. Hatcher, ibidem.

34. See G. Hatcher, ibidem.

35. For text see Joseph Bédier et Piere Aubry, *Les chansons de croisade avec leurs mélodies*, Geneva 1974 (reprint), pp. 109-117. For German translation see Ulrich Müller, *Kreuzugsdichtung*, Tübingen 1969, p. 36-38.

36. According to general agreement this song is linked to the second crusade.

37. This is only very obliquely implied in stanza IV.

38. Peter Hölzle identifies this poem with the third crusade; see for this Peter Hölzle, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. 217. By then journeys to and from the Holy Land were well established.

39. See for this notion A. J. Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l'ançien Français jusqu'au milieu du XIV siècle*, Paris 1968, p. 65 under *bel*.

40. This motif is very close to the idea of the *dous rays* which flow from the lover. For further reference see Ch. 3 note 14.

41. See Joseph Bédier/Pierre Aubry, *Les chansons de croisade*, p. 122-131.

42. See Ulrich Müller, *Kreuzuggsdichtung*, p. 146.

43. See Joseph Bédier/Pierre Aubry, *Les chansons de croisade*, p. 123. The original source of this quotation is not specified..

44. For texts of the two songs see Carl von Kraus, *Liederdichter*, p. 357 and p. 250.

45. See Jeffrey Ashcroft, "Der Minnesänger und die Freude des Hofes. Zu Reinmars Kreuzliedern und Witwenklage", in V. Honemann, K. Ruh, B. Schnell und W. Wegstein (ed.), *Poesie und Gebrauchsliteratur im deutschen Mittelalter*, (Würzburger Colloquium 1978), Tübingen 1979, pp. 219-238. This view is not shared by Günther Schweikle. See Günther Schweikle, *Reinmar, Lieder*, pp. 353-356 and also pp. 22-27.

46. Helmut de Boor/Newald, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, Vol. 2, p. 271.

47. E. Blattmann quoted by Ernst von Reusner (ed.), *Hartmann von Aue, Lieder*, Stuttgart 1985, p. 147.

48. As there is no precise information about Hartmann's life, it must of course remain speculation whether this song can be linked with any of the Counts of Zähringen. This hypothesis is accepted by Volker Mertens, *Gregorius Eremita*, (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutshen Literatur des Mittelalters), Zürich/München 1978, pp. 167-168 and it also put forward as a strong possibility by Kurt Ruh, *Höfische Epik des Mitelalters I*, (Grundlagen der Germanistik), Berlin 1967, p. 104. The problem of the attribution of the song to a particular lady does not influence the general principle of the argument, as the song is so general that it can be linked with any woman who has lost a lover or husband.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Texts

Bartsch, Karl; *Schweizer Minnesänger*, Frauenfeld 1964 (reprint)

Bédier, Joseph/ Aubry, Pierre; *Les chansons de croisade avec leurs mélodies*, Geneva 1974 (reprint)

v. Kraus, Carl; *Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts*, (2 Vols.), Tübingen 1978

Lachmann, Karl/ v. Kraus, Carl/ Kuhn, Hugo; *Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide*, (dreizehnte, aufgrund der zehnten bearbeiteten Ausgabe), Berlin 1965

Moser, Hans/ Tervooren H.; *Des Minnesangs Frühling, Texte und Erläuterungen*, (2 Vols.), Stuttgart 1977

Müller, Ulrich; *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, (Deutsche Texte), Tübingen 1969

Pirot, F.; "'A la fontana del vergier' du troubadour Marcabru, édition, traduction et notes", in: *Mélanges offerts à P. Imbs*, Strassbourg 1973

Rieger Dietmar; *Mittelalterliche Lyrik Frankreichs I, Lieder der Trobadors*, (2 Vols.), Stuttgart 1980

Schaefer, Joerg; *Walther von der Vogelweide, Werke*, Darmstadt 1972

Schweikle, Günther; *Reinmar, Lieder, Mittelhochdeutsch/ Neuhochdeutsch*, Stuttgart 1986

---; *Die Mittelhochdeutsche Minnelyrik, I Die Frühe Minnelyrik*, Darmstadt 1977

Dictionaries

Benecke, Georg/ Müller, Wilhelm/ Zarnke, Friedrich; *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, (3 Vols), Hildesheim 1963

Greimas, A.J.; *Dictionnaire de l'ancien Français jusqu'au milieu du XIV siècle*, Paris 1968

Lexer Matthias; *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, (3 Vols.), Leipzig 1876

---; *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*, Stuttgart 1976

Secondary Literature

Appel, C.; *Provenzalische Chrestomathie mit Abriss der Formenlehre und Glossar*, Leipzig 1930, (reprint Geneva 1974)

Angermann, Adolar; *Der Wechsel in der mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik*, Diss. Marburg 1910

Ashcroft, Jeffrey; "Der Minnesänger und die Freude des Hofes. Zu Reinmars Kreuzliedern und Witwenklage", in: Honemann, Volker/ Ruh, Kurt/ Schnell, B. und Wegstein, Werner (ed.), *Poesie und Gebrauchsliteratur im deutschen Mittelalter*, (Würzburger Colloquium 1978), Tübingen 1979, pp. 219-238

---; "Min trutgeselle von der Vogelweide, Parodie und Maskenspiele bei Walther", *Euphorion* 69, 1975, pp. 197-218

---; "'Venus clerk': Reinmar in der *Carmina Burana*", *Modern Language Review* 77, 1982, pp. 618-628

---; "'Als ein wilder valk erzogen', Minnesang und höfische Sozialisation", Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik, 1989 (forthcoming)

Asher, John, A.; "Das Tagelied Walthers von der Vogelweide, Ein parodistisches Kunstwerk", in: *Festschrift für Helmut de Boor zum 80. Geburtstag*, München 1971, pp. 279-286

Bachofer, Wolfgang; "Zur Wandlung des Minne-Begriffs bei Walther", in: *Festgabe für Ulrich Pretzel*, Berlin 1963, pp. 139-149

Benton, John F.; "The court of Champagne as a literary center", *Speculum*, 37, 1961, pp. 551-591

Bergner, Heinz (ed); *Die Lyrik des Mittelalters, Probleme und Interpretationen*, (2 Vols.), Stuttgart 1983

Bloch, Marc; *Feudal Society*, (2 Vols.), London 1962

de Boor, Helmut/ Newald, Richard; *Geschichte des deutschen Literatur*, (7 Vols), Vol. II, München 1953

Brill, Dr. A. A. (ed.), *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, New York 1938

Bumke, Joachim; *Mäzene im Mittelalter, Die Gönner und Auftraggeber des höfischen Literatur in Deutschland 1150-1300*, München 1976

---; *Höfische Kultur*, (2 Vols.), München 1986

---; "Liebe und Ehe in der höfischen Gesellschaft", in: Krohn, R. (ed.); *Liebe als Literatur*, München 1983, pp. 25-45

Burdach, Konrad; *Reinmar der Alte und Walther von der Vogelweide*, Halle 1928

Duby, Georges; *Medieval Marriage. Two Models from Twelfth-Century France*, Baltimore/ London 1978

Elias, Norbert; *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation, Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*, (2 Vols.), Frankfurt a. M. 1976

Erbstösser, Martin; *The Crusades*, Leipzig 1978

Forster, Leonard; *The Icy Fire*, Cambridge 1969

Fortmann, Dieter; *Studien zur Gestaltung der Lieder Heinrichs von Morungen*, Tübingen 1966

Frings, Theodor; *Die Anfänge der europäischen Liebesdichtung im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*, München 1960 (Bay. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsberichte 1960/2)

---; "Walthers Gespräche (1954)", in: Siegfied Beyschlag (ed.), *Walther von der Vogelweide*, Darmstadt 1971, pp. 420-430 (Wege der Forschung 112)

Frings, Theodor / Linke, Elisabeth; "Walthers Tagelied", in: *Festschrift für Hennig Brinkmann*, Düsseldorf 1961 (Wirkendes Wort 3, Sonderheft), pp. 3-7

Hagenlocher, Albrecht; "Das 'Tagelied' Reinmars des Alten (MF 154, 32). Zur Umwandlung einer literarischen Form", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 96, 1977, pp. 76-89

Hahn, Gerhart; *Walther von der Vogelweide*, München/ Zürich 1986

Harksen, Sybille; *Die Frau im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1974

Hatcher, G.; "Marcabru's 'A la fontana del vergier'", *Modern Language Notes* 79, 1964, pp. 284-295

Hatto, Arthur T.; *Eos. An inquiry into the Themes of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry*, London/ Den Haag/ Paris 1965

Hölzle, Peter; *Die Kreuzzüge in der okzitanischen und deutschen Lyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts*, (2 Vols.), Göppingen 1980 (GAG 278)

Jackson, William E.; *Reinmar's Women, A Study of the Woman's song* ("Frauenlied und Frauenstrophe of Reinmar der Alte"), Amsterdam 1981

Jungbluth, Günther; "Zu Dietmars Tagelied" in: *Festgabe für Ulrich Pretzel*, Berlin 1963, pp. 118-127

Kasten, Ingrid; "Weibliches Rollenverständnis in den Frauenliedern Reinmars und der Comtessa de Dia", *Germanisch - Romanische Monatsschrift*, 37, Heft 2, pp. 131-146

Keen, Maurice; *Chivalry*, New Haven/ London 1984

Kirchmer, Alois; *Dichter und Konvention. Zum gesellschaftlichen Realitätsproblem der deutschen Lyrik bei Walther von der Vogelweide und seinen Zeitgenossen*, Düsseldorf 1973 (Literatur in der Gesellschaft 18)

Kleinschmidt, Erich; "Minnesang als höfische Zeremonialhandlung (1976)", in: Hans Fromm (ed.); *Der deutsche Minnesang II*, Darmstadt 1985 (Wege der Forschung 608)

Kohler, Erika; *Liebeskrieg, Zur Bildsprache der höfischen Dichtung des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart/ Berlin 1935

Köhler, Erich; *Trobadorlyrik und höfischer Roman*, Berlin 1962

---; *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen, (Vol II), Les Genres Lyriques*, Tome 1, Fascicule 5, Heidelberg 1979

Kuhn, Hugo; "Minnesang als Aufführungsform (1968/69)", in: Hans Fromm (ed.), *Der deutsche Minnesang II*, Darmstadt 1985 (Wege der Forschung 608), pp. 226-237

Labarge, Margaret Wade; *A Baronial Household of the Thirteenth Century*, Brighton 1980

Leube-Fey, Christiane; *Bild und Funktion der 'dompna' in der Lyrik der Trobadors*, Heidelberg 1970 (Studia Romanica 21)

Mayer, Hans; *The Crusades*, Oxford 1965

Mohr, Wolfgang; "Wolframs Tagelieder", in: *Festschrift Paul Kluckholn und Hermann Schneider*, Tübingen 1948, pp. 148-165

---; "Vortragsform und Form als Symbol im mittelalterlichen Lied (1963)", in Hans Fromm (ed.); *Der deutsche Minnesang II*, Darmstadt 1985 (Wege der Forschung 608), pp. 211-225

---; "Wolframs Tagelieder", in: *Festschrift Paul Kluckhohn und Hermann Schneider gewidmet zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, Tübingen 1948, pp. 148-165

---; "Minnesang als Gesellschaftskunst", in: Hans Fromm (ed.), *Der deutsche Minnesang*, Darmstadt 1963 (Wege der Forschung 15), pp. 149-228

Müller, Ulrich; "Friedrich von Hausen und der 'sumer von Triere' (MF 47,38), *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 90 (Sonderheft 1971), pp. 107-115

---; "Versuch über mittelhochdeutsche Kreuzzugsdichtung", in: *'Getempert und Gemischet' für Wolfgang Mohr zum 65. Geburtstag*, Göppingen 1972, pp. 251-280

Newman, F.X. (ed.); *The Meaning of Courtly Love*, New York 1968

Pagani, W.; "Per un'interpretazione di A la fontana del vergier", *Studio Mediolatini et Volgari* 1972, 20, pp. 169-174

Pernoud, Régine; *Königin der Troubadoure, Eleonore von Aquitanien*, München 1986

Peters, Ursula; "Höfische Liebe. Ein Forschungsproblem der Mentalitätsgeschichte", in: Ashcroft, Jeffrey/ Huschenbett, Dietrich/ Jackson, William Henry (ed.); *Liebe in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters* (St. Andrews Colloquium 1985), Tübingen 1987, pp. 1-13

Power, Eileen; *Medieval Women*, Cambridge 1975

Ranawake, Silvia; "Gab es eine Reinmarfehde? Zu der These von Walthers Wendung gegen die Konventionen der hohen Minne", *Oxford German Studies*, 13, 1982, pp. 7-35

Rieger, Dietmar; "Zur Stellung des Tageliedes in der Trobadorlyrik", *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 87, 1971, pp. 223-232

Riley-Smith, Jonathan; *What were the Crusades?*, London 1977

Sayce, Olive; *The Medieval German Lyric 1150-1300. The Development of its Themes and Forms in their European Context*, Oxford 1971

Schnell, Rüdiger; *Causa Amoris, Liebeskonzeption und Liebesdarstellung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Bern/ München 1985

Schweikle, Günther; "Die 'frouwe' der Minnesänger. Zu Realitätsgehalt und Ethos des Minnesangs im 12. Jahrhundert (1980)", in: Hans Fromm (ed); *Der deutsche Minnesang II*, Darmstadt 1985 (Wege der Forschung 608), pp. 238-272

Seville, Jonathan; *The Medieval Erotic Alba*, Columbia 1973

Shahar, Shulamith; *The Fourth Estate, A history of women in the Moiddle Ages*, London 1983

Spiewok, Wolfgang; "Minneidee und feudalhöfisches Frauenbild. Ein Beitrag zu den Maßstäben literarhistorischer Wertung im Mittelalter", *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald, gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 12 (1963), pp. 481-490

Thum, Berndt; *Aufbruch und Verweigerung. Literatur und Geschichte am Oberrhein im Hohen Mittelalter. Aspekte eines geschichtlichen Kulturraumes.*, Waldkirch 1979

Topsfield, L. T.; *Troubadours and Love*, Cambridge 1975

Wapnewski, Peter; *Waz ist minne. Studien zur mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik*, München 1975

---; *Die Lyrik Wolframs von Eschenbach. Edition, Kommentar, Interpretation*, München 1972

Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Friedrich-Wilhelm; *Kreuzzugsdichtung des Mittelalters. Studien zur geschichtlichen und dichterischen Wirklichkeit*, Berlin 1960

Wolf, Alois; *Variation und Integration, Beobachtungen zu mitelhochdeutschen Tageliedern*, Darmstadt 1979 (Impulse der Forschung 29)